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Coalition or Competition?: The Effects of Category Salience on Inter-Minority Prejudice

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COALITION OR COMPETITION?: THE EFFECTS OF CATEGORY SALIENCE ON INTER-MINORITY PREJUDICE

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Traditionally, the discourse on race relations in the U.S. has focused on relations between Whites and ethnic minorities, with little being known about the antecedents and consequences of inter-minority prejudice. This paper will present results from two studies that were conducted with Asian, Black, and Latino undergraduate students, assessing motivations to embrace a collective identity with ethnic minorities (versus express prejudice towards other ethnic minority groups). Blacks,' Asians', and Latinos' ethnic group identification, as well their identification with a superordinate "people of color" (POC) category were assessed. POC identification was found to be closely aligned with one's political beliefs (e.g., perceptions that the system is unjust, and that racial minorities face discrimination in the U.S.) For Asian participants, POC identification predicted more positive attitudes towards other ethnic minority groups perceived to face similar discrimination in the U.S. (e.g., Latinos and Blacks.) However, Blacks' identification as POC actually predicted negative attitudes towards Asians, who were not seen as facing the same barriers to upward mobility as other racial minority groups in the U.S. The results indicate that the politics of POC identification might actually contribute to increased tension between ethnic minorities in the U.S.; implications for more effecting coalition building between racial minorities in the U.S. are also discussed in this paper.

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Page

Table Page

Figure Page

inter-ethnic tension in the U.S. actually exist between ethnic minority groups (e.g., Taking America's Pulse, 2000). Thus, a systematic study of relations between ethnic minority groups in the U.S. is necessary.

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Thus far, the majority of research on inter-minority relations has primarily occurred in disciplines beyond social psychology, such as political science and sociology (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Darder & Torres, 2004; O'Brien, 2008; Yancey, 2003). Scholars across these disciplines have theorized about the motivations for members of ethnic minority groups to see members of other ethnic minority groups as either sources of cooperation or competition, but to date, there has been little empirical research that has examined the processes that affect inter-minority competition and cooperation. Scholars in these fields have primarily focused on what they refer to as the "blurring" or "shifting" of "the color line," which they suggest has occurred in recent decades in the U.S (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Kaufmann, 2003; O'Brien, 2008; Sears & Savalei, 2006). Traditionally, the phrase "the color line" has been used to suggest that there is a barrier that exists between Whites and non-Whites in U.S. society. Sears and Savalei (2006) describe a "people of color" hypothesis as one that views all ethnic and racial minorities as restricted by "a color line," and as being relatively disadvantaged compared to Whites. A "people of color" approach implies that all ethnic and racial minority groups are in the same boat, and as such, there will be cross-group solidarity in the struggle against White oppression (Darder &Torres, 2004).

More recent viewpoints, however, suggest that different ethnic minority groups actually have different levels of status in U.S. society, and as a result, different ethnic minority groups face different barriers to upward mobility (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2006; O'Brien, 2008; Sears & Savalei, 2006). More specifically, a growing number of researchers (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2006; O'Brien, 2008;

Sears & Savalei, 2006; Yancey, 2003) have argued that Blacks, in particular, are subject to uniquely high levels of prejudice and discrimination in society that other, more "recent" immigrant groups do not have to face. Sears and Savalei (2006) refer to this phenomenon as "Black exceptionalism," and suggest that while Blacks will continue to be restricted by a stringent "color line" in future generations, barriers to upward mobility will be more permeable for members of other ethnic minority groups. The idea of a "Black/non-Black" divide existing in society is also supported by scholars who argue that members of non-Black ethnic minority groups, such as Asians and Latinos, have essentially become "White" in society -- at least when defining racial groups in social and political terms (e.g., Yancey, 2003). Using data from Los Angeles County Social Surveys from 1994-2002, Sears and Savalei (2006) suggest that Asians and Latinos are likely to face greater assimilation into White culture over successive generations; as a result, over time, Asians' and Latinos' ethnic group consciousness and political attitudes are predicted to more closely mirror those of Whites (rather than those of Blacks). Thus, these scholars argue that race relations in U.S. can still be understood underneath a Black-White dichotomy, and that the question to answer for newer immigrant groups, such as Asians and Latinos, is: are they Black or White? (e.g., Darder & Torres, 2004).

A third theoretical approach to understanding minority relations in the U.S. is an integration of the "Black exceptionalism" and "people of color" hypotheses. Bonilla-Silva (2006) conceptualizes the U.S. as a "tri-racial hierarchy," in which collective Blacks are perceived to be at the bottom, ethnic minority groups such as Asians and Latinos make up the "racial middle," and Whites are at the top. Proponents of a "racial middle" approach argue that non-Black ethnic minorities do not, in fact, have opportunities to truly assimilate into White culture; instead, they suggest that groups such as Asians and Latinos merely have "honorary White" status in U.S. society (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2006; O'Brien, 2008). Thus, these scholars argue that while Asians and Latinos may enjoy higher

social status in the U.S. than Blacks, they similarly face a glass ceiling that prevents them from achieving equal status with Whites. In this view, the "people of color" hypothesis suggests that having different, but shared histories of oppression should produce feelings of similarity and an interest in cooperation amongst members of different ethnic minority groups. Another possibility, however, is that perceptions that ethnic minority groups have differing levels of status and privileges in society will contribute to hostility and competition between members of ethnic minority groups.

These various theories provide different, and often competing, views on the racial hierarchy that exists in the United States. Bonilla-Silva (2006) argues that ethnic minorities' perceptions of ethnic groups' statuses and the racial hierarchy in the U.S. are vital to understanding why inter-minority tensions might develop. The multitude of theories on racial hierarchies in the U.S. suggest that members of different ethnic groups may themselves have different beliefs about the status of different ethnic groups in U.S., as well as the opportunities available to these different groups, based on their own perceptions of ethnic discrimination in the US. In addition, if members of ethnic minority groups do not perceive the status of their own or other ethnic minority groups to be constant or stable, they may have feelings of competition towards other minority groups in areas where they are seen as lacking. Asians, for example, enjoy relative privilege to Blacks and Latinos in areas such as academics, where they are perceived as being hard-working and intelligent, and displaying the characteristics of the "model minority." When thinking of assimilation into American culture, however, Blacks are given higher status than Asians, who are perceived as "perpetual foreigners" (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Devos & Banaji, 2005). The status of various ethnic minority groups in U.S. society seems to be contextually dependent, which suggests that ethnic minority groups have opportunities to improve their position in the racial hierarchy in relation to one another. Given that within a group-based hierarchy, ethnic group status is defined in relative, rather

than absolute terms, an increase in status for one's own ethnic group may seem to imply a decrease in status for other ethnic groups; thus, it is possible that the perception of zero-sum competition may contribute to the high tensions that exist between minority groups. In order to understand why these perceptions of zero-sum competition may develop between minority groups, a greater understanding of the categorization processes, or the ways in which minorities define the "ingroup" and "outgroup," is necessary.

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Although the various theoretical perspectives on the racial hierarchy in the U.S. suggest different ways that members of minority groups may define the group boundaries that exist between ethnic groups, to date there has been little empirical research that has investigated the conditions under which ethnic minorities may (or may not) categorize themselves as part of a large pan-ethnic identity along with other ethnic minority groups. The theoretical frameworks discussed earlier (such as the "people of color" hypothesis) suggest different ways in which people may categorize themselves with regard to members of other ethnic groups. The "people of color" hypothesis, for example, would suggest that that there is a category boundary between Whites and non-Whites in the U.S., such that all non-White ethnic groups belong to a "people of color" superordinate identity. However, to date, there has been little empirical research that has investigated the ways in which ethnic minorities draw these category boundaries. Understanding how people draw intergroup category boundaries is important because it may have significant influence on attitudes towards other ethnic groups. Research on social categorization suggests that people categorize themselves as part of an ingroup, and others as belonging to an outgroup, based on perceived similarities and differences that exist between groups of people (e.g., Dovidio & Gaertner, 2010; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2009; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Such categorization research also suggests that people have more favorable attitudes towards ingroup

members than towards the outgroup; as a result, identifying with other ethnic minorities as "people of color" should predict positive attitudes between ethnic minority groups.

Although some research on the effects of categorization drawn from work on majority-minority relations (in particular, the Common Ingroup Identity Model; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) indicates that an inclusive superordinate identity should increase favorable attitudes between ethnic minorities, there is also a strong basis for predicting that a "people of color" superordinate identity could increase inter-minority hostility. For example, O'Brien (2008) suggests that ethnic minorities will resent being placed into a broad, homogenous category, and fight to distinguish themselves from other ethnic minorities. Similarly, Brewer's (1991) optimal distinctiveness theory indicates that individuals have competing needs for assimilation and distinctiveness within their group memberships, and that a balance must be struck between the two. Hornsey and Hogg (1999) build upon optimal distinctiveness theory and argue that membership in an overly-inclusive superordinate group will actually drive members to exhibit more subgroup bias, in response to their needs for subgroup differentiation. Bonilla-Silva (2006) argues that Asians and Latinos will fight to distinguish themselves from being placed in the same category as Blacks, whom they see as being a more stigmatized ethnic group in society. Similarly, Blacks might seek to distance themselves from being categorized into a superordinate category with Asians and Latinos, as such a categorization can overlook the unique difficulties and barriers that members of lower status groups face. To this effect, White, Schmitt and Langer (2006) have suggested that a superordinate identity can either lead to feelings of competition or provide a basis for coalition amongst minorities; however, the conditions under which these divergent outcomes will occur has not yet been systematically studied.

Realistic Threat

The categorization processes discussed in the prior section form one part of a framework for understanding inter-minority prejudice. However, both classic and contemporary approaches to prejudice also stress the role of perceived threats from other groups in generating prejudiced attitudes. For example, in formulating hypotheses as to why inter-minority prejudice might develop, Allport (1958) stated that personal prejudice occurs when members of another racial or ethnic group are perceived as a threat to one's own interests. More recently, Riek, Mania and Gaertner (2006) review a number of studies that have explored different forms of intergroup threat (or situations in which the goals, actions, or beliefs of one group is thought to challenge the well-being of another group), and how such threats predict negative outgroup attitudes (e.g., Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 1999; Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). In their integrated threat theory, Stephan and Stephan (2000) present four main types of threat which they suggest play a role in causing intergroup prejudice: realistic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes. For the purposes of this proposal, I will be focusing on the role that realistic threat (in particular, economic threat) plays in the development of inter-minority prejudice. The current state of the economy is something that has affected all Americans; in particular, the high levels of unemployment and job competition is something that should be particularly salient to college students, many of whom are preparing to enter the work force for the first time.

Realistic group conflict theory (Sherif & Sherif, 1953) suggests that when two or more groups are in competition for scare resources, the success of one group threatens the well-being of another group, and as a result, negative intergroup attitudes are likely to develop. When the goals

between the different groups are seen to be compatible, relations between the groups are likely to be positive; when the goals of the groups are seen as incompatible, however, there is an increased likelihood of intergroup conflict. Stephan and Stephan (2000) build upon realistic group conflict theory by suggesting that *the perception of* realistic threats leads to intergroup prejudice as well, whether or not actual competition over resources exists.

Realistic group conflict theory also forms the basis of the instrumental model of group conflict proposed by Esses, Jackson and Armstrong (1998). Esses, et al. (1998) suggest that a combination of resource stress and the salience of a potential competitive outgroup leads to perceived group competition for resources. Resource stress, in this context, is defined as the perception that access to certain resources (such as jobs) is limited for certain groups. This model suggests that resource stress might be perceived by lower status groups due to an unequal distribution of resources in society, and the limited access lower status groups often have to such resources. The authors argue that higher status groups may also feel a source of competition with other groups when resources are low, out of a fear of losing their higher positions in the hierarchy. In addition, they propose that individuals who are more likely to desire a hierarchical structure in society, or who are high on Social Dominance Orientation (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) are more likely to see other groups as competitors for resources. Esses, et al. (1998) also suggest that outgroups are more likely to be seen as competitors if they are seen as similar on dimensions relevant to obtaining resources (e.g. skills), and as salient and distinct on dimensions that are irrelevant (e.g., national origin). Finally, Esses, et al. suggest that in response to perceptions of intergroup threat, the ingroup will attempt to decrease the competitiveness of the outgroup by expressing negative attitudes towards the outgroup and engaging in discriminatory behavior to limit the other group's opportunities. Esses, et al. use their model to predict Canadian attitudes towards immigrants and immigration policies. They found general support for their model, such that manipulating the level

of perceived job competition with new immigrants affected Canadian participants' attitudes towards the immigrant group, as well as their willingness to endorse policies designed to help immigrants. The authors conclude that unfavorable attitudes towards immigrants and immigration policies are most likely to occur when the economy is poor and unemployment is at a high level.

The majority of social psychology research on intergroup threats has examined the different threats that various minority groups pose to the dominant group; to date, little research has looked at how minority groups view each other as potential sources of threat and competition. One recent approach to this problem from a threat perspective has been developed by Bobo and colleagues (e.g., Bobo & Hutchings, 1996; Bobo, 1999) which builds on an older sociological theory, Blumer's group-position model (1958). Blumer argued that intergroup competition and hostility are a result of judgments about the positions in the social order that one's ingroup should rightfully occupy relative to members of an outgroup. Blumer identifies four elements which establish a sense of group position, and lead to prejudice between groups: 1) a belief about ingroup superiority, 2) viewing the outgroup as "different," and alien, 3) assumptions of the ingroup's proprietary claim over certain rights, privileges, etc., and 4) the belief that outgroup members desire access to resources that are seen as "belonging" to the ingroup. Bobo and Hutchings (1996) extend Blumer's group position theory to extend to a multiracial context, in order to attempt to identify the extent to which Whites, Blacks, Latinos and Asians view each other as sources of competition. Bobo and Hutchings use the group-position model as a basis for assessing the degree to which members of a group feel threatened by the loss of significant resources to other social groups. In addition, Bobo and Hutchings introduce their racial alienation hypothesis, which states that members of a racial group who feel oppressed and alienated are more likely to regard other racial groups as competitive threats to their group's social position. Using data from the 1992 Los Angeles County Social Survey, Bobo and Hutchings show, in general, that Blacks, Latinos and Asians were more

likely to report perceptions of competition with one another the more they reported racial alienation. Blacks reported the highest feelings of racial alienation, and as predicted, they were most likely to report feelings of competition with other ethnic minority groups. Thus, these findings give support to the hypothesis that ethnic minorities view other ethnic minorities as competition for economic resources, and as such, there is reason to believe that economic threat is one of the factors which fuels inter-minority prejudice. One of the goals of the research described in this paper was to examine the conditions under which minorities view each other as sources of economic threat, and methods of reducing perceptions of intergroup threat.

[illegible]

Earlier, I noted that past research indicates that how people define the category boundaries between ingroup and outgroup can affect their attitudes towards other ethnic groups. Past research has also demonstrated that the ways in which people define their ingroup and outgroup boundaries can be quite malleable (e.g., Dovidio & Gaertner, 2010; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Furthermore, experimentally manipulating the salience of intergroup boundaries has been shown to be a successful way of improving intergroup attitudes. Research on the common ingroup identity model (e.g., Dovidio & Gaertner, 2010; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2009; Gaertner, Dovidio, Banker, Houlette, Johnson & McGlynn, 2000) has shown the potential benefits of recategorizing members of the ingroup and outgroup to be part of an inclusive superordinate group. Such research has shown that increasing the salience of a common ingroup identity can produce more positive attitudes towards former outgroup members, as a function of in-group bias (Esses, et al., 1998; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). The benefits of a superordinate identity is also supported by research on realistic group conflict theory, in which the salience of a superordinate goal is shown to reduce feelings of competition between groups (e.g., Sherif & Sherif, 1953).

As another example, Esses, Dovidio, Jackson and Armstrong (2001) conducted a study in which they manipulated the inclusiveness of Canadian identity in an attempt to improve attitudes towards immigrants and immigration policies. Esses, et al. presented scenarios that highlighted the common (but distinct) history of immigration that both participants and recent immigrants had, and emphasized a united national identity. They found that across all the scenarios that were created to induce a sense of common ingroup identity produced more positive attitudes towards immigrants than in the control condition.

The extent to which manipulating social categorization can affect emotion appraisals and behavioral reactions has also been explored by several researchers (e.g., Dumont, Yzerbyt, Wigboldus & Gordijn, 2003; Gordijn, Wigboldus & Yzerbyt, 2001; Yzerbyt, Dumont, Gordijn, & Wigboldus, 2002) examining group based emotions in response to intergroup threats. An example of this work is the research done by Dumont et al. (2003), which studied attitudes towards Arabs post 9/11. Dumont et al. found that manipulating the salience of Americans as part of the common ingroup affected how likely European participants were to identify with American victims. When Americans were categorized as part of the ingroup (versus outgroup), the authors found that participants were more likely to report negative emotions towards Arabs, and engage in more fear-related behaviors.

While there has been a growing amount of research that examines how manipulating identity salience can affect intergroup attitudes, such research has primarily focused on relations between members of majority and minority groups. Because all ethnic minorities belong to lower status groups in U.S. society, prejudice between minority groups cannot be defined simply in terms of "perpetrator" and "target" relations (Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008), and there may be a unique set of processes that underlie inter-minority relations (Richeson & Craig, 2011; Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008; White et al., 2006). In *The Nature of Prejudice*, Allport (1958) hypothesized that the experience of

belonging to a stigmatized identity can either 1) make stigmatized individuals more likely to stigmatize others, or 2) the experience of being a target of prejudice can make stigmatized individuals less likely to subject others to the same experience. However, to date, the circumstances under which these divergent outcomes are likely to happen have gone relatively untested in the field of social psychology (Richeson & Craig, 2011; Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008; White, et al., 2006). In past years, research in this area has primarily looked at how majority group prejudice-expression (Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008) and the stigma of "mainstream" minority groups (White, et al., 2006) can lead to inter-minority tensions. More recently, scholars have begun to investigate how exposure to the discrimination that one's own ethnic group faces affects attitudes towards other ethnic minority groups (Richeson & Craig, 2011). However, to my knowledge, there has been relatively little research that has investigated perceptions of threat amongst ethnic minorities, and how this influences inter-minority attitudes.

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Thus far, there has been little empirical data that has investigated ethnic minority social categorization and inter-minority attitudes. Thus, the goal of the present studies is to develop a theoretical framework for understanding inter-minority attitudes, particularly Black-Asian relations. I propose to focus on Asian-Black relations because initial analyses conducted for Study 1 indicate that negative intergroup attitudes are strongest between Asians and Blacks. A focus on Asian-Black relations under the context of economic threat is appropriate, given that Asians are generally perceived as having high levels of economic success in society, whereas Blacks are considered to be relatively disadvantaged (e.g., Bobo & Hutchings, 1996). In addition, some prior research indicates that Blacks report feeling the highest levels of economic competition with Asians, versus Whites or Latinos (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996). Thus, the proposed studies will examine the relationship between economic threat and Black-Asian prejudice, and methods of

reducing perceived economic competition between Blacks and Asians. Study 1 seeks to answer: How do Blacks and Asians evaluate their own and other ethnic groups? Based on elements of the theoretical overview described earlier, how do key variables (e.g., people of color identification and perceptions of group competition) predict Black-Asian attitudes? Study 2 seeks to answer: Does an increase in realistic threat increase Asian-Black prejudice ? Does manipulating the salience of intergroup boundaries to either increase a focus on participants' ethnic ingroup or an inclusive pan-ethnic minority categorization affect Black-Asian attitudes?

Study 1

Study 1 was conducted with Asian and Black undergraduates from the University of Massachusetts at Amherst over the Spring and Fall semesters of 2010 and 2011. The purpose of this study was to gather descriptive data about Asian and Black intergroup attitudes, as well as identify predictors of identification with a "people of color" superordinate identity and intergroup attitudes.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Asian (N = 169) and Black (N = 126) participants were recruited from the University of Massachusetts psychology undergraduate human subject pool in return for experimental credit.

Measures

Group Attitudes

To assess overall positive attitudes towards their own and other ethnic groups, participants reported the degree to which they felt warmth, positivity, liking, similarity, closeness, and how they got along with different ethnic groups. These six items were averaged to create a Group Attitudes composite with higher numbers indicating higher overall evaluation of an ethnic group. The construct for Group Attitudes was found to be reliable for both Black participants' attitudes towards Blacks (α = .78), Asians (α = .77), and Whites (α = .76). The construct was also found to be

reliable for Asian participants' attitudes towards Asians (α = .76), Blacks (α = .84), Whites, (α = .75).

[illegible]

Ethnic group identification was measured by adapting the "importance to identity" subscale of the Collective Self-Esteem scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Four items were used to assess identification with one's ethnic group (e.g., "the ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am"; assessed on a 7-point scale, 1= *Strongly disagree*, 7= *Strongly agree*). The composite for Ethnic Group Identification was found to be reliable for both Asian participants (α = .78) and Black participants (α = .73).

[illegible]

A measure for identification with the "people of color" superordinate category was created by adapting the measure used for ethnic group identification. Four items were used to assess identification with people of color (e.g., "how important is being a person of color to your identity?"; assessed on a 7-point scale, with higher numbers indicating stronger identification with people of color). The composite for POC Identification was reliable for both Asian participants (α = .82) and Black participants (α = .78).

[illegible]

Inclusion into the People of Color Identity was measured with a single item per ethnic group, asking participants to rate the extent to which they thought the term "people of color" excluded or included each ethnic group (assessed on a 7-point scale; 1= *Not at all included*, 7= *Completely included*).

[illegible]

The measure for Perceptions of Ethnic Group Discrimination was adapted from Major, Gramzow, McCoy, Levin, Schmader, and Sidanius (2002), and uses 4 items to assess perceptions of ethnic group-based discrimination existing in the U.S. (e.g., "ethnic minorities usually don't get fair treatment in society, " assessed on a 7-point scale; 1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree). The composite for Perceptions of Ethnic Group Discrimination was reliable for both Asian participants (α = .74) and Black participants (α = .64).

[illegible]

The measure for Perceptions of Zero-Sum Competition was adapted from Esses et al. (1998). Participants indicated their disagreement or agreement with three group-specific variations of the statement, "the economic advancement of (Asians/Blacks/Whites) threatens the advancement of members of my ethnic group," (assessed on a 7-point scale; 1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*).

[illegible]

Participants were invited to participate in our study if they identified as Asian or Black. On arrival to the laboratory, participants complete a statement of informed consent in which they are told that they will be participating in a study on "intergroup relations," and that the purpose of the study was to learn about people's beliefs and attitudes about different groups in society. Participants completed a set of measures contained in a paper questionnaire, after which they are debriefed and thanked for their participation.

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The complete set of data for Study 1 contains approximately thirty different measures relating to intergroup beliefs and attitudes. Within this paper, I will discuss the results for the variables that are most relevant to my theoretical framework.

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4.07) than with Asians (M = 3.29), t(125)=4.70, p<.001, and more zero-sum competition to exist with Asians than with their ingroup (M = 2.38), t(123)=6.40, p<.001. Asian participants were more likely to perceive zero-sum competition to exist with Whites (M = 3.56) than with Blacks (M = 2.97), t(168) = 4.62, p<.001, or with their ingroup (M = 2.87), t(165) = 5.26, p<.001. There were no significant differences found between Asian participants' perceptions of zero-sum competition with Blacks and their perceptions of zero-sum competition with their ingroup, t(165) = .89, p=.38.

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Tables 3 and 4 provide the correlations amongst the theoretically relevant variables described in Study 1. The first relevant set of patterns relates to the correlations between group identification (ethnic subgroup and POC identification) and intergroup attitudes. I will first describe the pattern of results found for Asian participants. Asian participants' reported identification with their ethnic group and with the POC identity were highly correlated, r(168) = .49, p<.001. Asian participants' ethnic group identification was found to predict positive attitudes towards their own group, r(169) = .36, p<.001, but was not found to predict their attitudes towards Whites, r(169) = -.11, p = .17, or their attitudes towards Blacks, r(169) = .05, p = .49. Asian participants' identification with the POC category was found to predict positive attitudes towards their own group, r(169) = .20, p<.01, as well as Blacks, r(168) = .39, p <.001. Inclusion of Asians into the POC category was not found to predict Asians' attitudes towards Blacks, r(169) =.12, p = .12; however, inclusion of Blacks into the POC category marginally predicted Asian participants' attitudes towards Blacks r(169) = .14, p = .08.

Next, I will describe the relationship between these variables that was found for Black participants. Black participants' ethnic group identification and POC identification were found to be highly correlated, r(125) = .49, p<.001. Black participants' ethnic group identification was found to

predict positive attitudes towards the ingroup, $r(126) = .32$, $p<.001$, negative attitudes towards Whites, $r(126) = -.20$, $p<.05$, and was not found to predict attitudes towards Asians, $r(126) = -.04$, $p= .66$. Black participants' identification with the POC category was found to predict negative attitudes both towards Asians $r(125) = -.19$, $p =.04$ and towards Whites $r(125)= -.36$, $p <.001$. However, inclusion of Asians into the POC category was positively correlated with Black participants' attitudes towards Asians $r(126) = .27$, $p < .001$.

The next set of correlations concerns the link between perceptions of ethnic group discrimination and POC identification. Blacks participants' perceptions of ethnic group discrimination was significantly correlated with identification with their people of color identity, $r(125) = .22$, $p<.05$. For Black participants, perceptions of ethnic group discrimination was also a marginally significant predictor of negative attitudes towards Asians, $r(125) = -.16$, $p = .08$. For Asian participants, perceptions of ethnic group discrimination were not related to POC identification, $r(168) = .11$, $p = .14$.

The last set of correlations investigates the relationship between intergroup attitudes and perceptions of competition. For Black participants, perceived competition with Whites was found to predict negative attitudes towards Asians, $r(125) = -.18$, $p =.05$, as well as negative attitudes towards Whites, $r(125) = -.22$, $p<.05$. In addition, for Black participants, perceived competition with Asians was found to be a marginally significant predictor of negative attitudes towards the ingroup, $r(125) = -.16$, $p =.08$, and towards Whites, $r(125) = -.15$, $p =.10$. For Asian participants, perceived competition with Whites predicted negative attitudes towards Blacks $r(168) = -.15$, $p=.05$, and marginally significant negative attitudes towards Whites $r(168) = -.14$, $p =.07$. For Asian participants, perceived competition with the ingroup predicted negative attitudes towards Whites, $r(165) = -.18$, $p<.05$. For Asian participants, perceived competition with Blacks was found to be a

predictor of negative attitudes towards the ingroup, $r(168) = -.16$, $p = .04$, as well as a marginally significant predictor of negative attitudes towards Whites, $r(165) = -.18$, $p < .05$.

[illegible]

[illegible]

A multiple regression analysis was conducted in order to further explore the correlational analyses, and examine the relationship ethnic group identification and POC identification in predicting intergroup attitudes. For both Black and Asian participants, ethnic group identification was not found to be significantly correlated with attitudes towards the other ethnic minority group; however, POC identification was found to be a significant predictor of Black-Asian attitudes. Because the measures of ethnic group identification and POC identification were both used to assess levels of group identification in this study, and they were highly correlated for both Black and Asian participants, a multiple regression analysis was conducted to investigate whether there was an interaction between ethnic group identification and POC identification in predicting intergroup attitudes.

For Black participants, a multiple regression analysis was conducted predicting attitudes towards Asians from Black participants' ethnic group identification, POC identification, and an interaction term (ethnic group identification * POC identification) (see Figure 1). The interaction between ethnic group identification and POC identification was found to be significant ($b = .14$, $se = .05$, $p < .05$), such that high POC identification predicted negative attitudes towards Asians only for Black participants who did not report being strongly identified with their ethnic group. A marginally significant main effect was

found for POC identification (*b* = -.18, *se* = .10, *p* =.07), indicating a negative relationship between POC identification and attitudes towards Asians. There was not a significant main effect found for ethnic group identification (*b* = .11, *se* = .09, *p* =.24).

A multiple regression analysis was also conducted for Asian participants, predicting attitudes towards Blacks from Asian participants' ethnic group identification, POC identification, and an interaction term (ethnic group identification * POC identification) (see Figure 2). The interaction between ethnic group identification and POC identification in predicting attitudes towards Asians was not found to be significant (*b* = .01, *se* = .05, *p* = .90). A follow-up multiple regression analysis was conducted without the interaction term, with attitudes towards Asians regressed on ethnic group identification and POC identification. This regression did not find ethnic group identification to predict attitudes towards Blacks (*b* = -.11, *se* = .07, *p* =.14), controlling for POC identification. POC identification was found to predict positive attitudes towards Blacks (*b* = .38, *se* = .07, *p* <.001), controlling for ethnic group identification.

<u>[redacted]</u>

A second multiple regression was conducted in order to examine the relationship between POC identification and POC inclusion in predicting intergroup attitudes. The measure of POC identification that was used in this study was designed to assess the extent to which Black and Asian participants identify with a superordinate category that is inclusive of all ethnic minorities. However, the possibility that participants might have differential perceptions of who belongs to the POC category seems to be supported by the POC inclusion results discussed above, which found that Black and Asian participants both viewed the POC category as being more inclusive of Blacks than Asians. Thus, the extent to

which POC identification and inclusion of Asians into the POC category might interact in predicting inter-minority attitudes was examined.

For Black participants, I hypothesized that POC identification and inclusion of Asians into the POC category would interact in predicting Black participants' attitudes towards Asians, such that Black participants' POC identification would predict positive attitudes towards Asians for those participants who were highly inclusive of Asians into the POC category. A multiple regression analysis was conducted predicting attitudes towards Asians from Black participants' POC identification, inclusion of Asians into the "people of color" category, and an interaction term (POC identification * inclusion of Asians). Contrary to the hypothesis, POC identification and Asian inclusion did not interact in predicting attitudes towards Asians (b = .06, se = .04, p = .14). A follow-up regression analysis was conducted without the interaction term, with attitudes towards Asians regressed on POC identification and Asian inclusion. This regression showed POC identification to be negatively correlated with attitudes towards Asians (b = -.23, se = .08, p < .01), controlling for ethnic group identification. Asian inclusion was found to have a positive correlation with attitudes towards Asians (b = .19, se = .05, p <.001), controlling for POC identification.

For Asian participants, I hypothesized that POC identification and inclusion of Asians into the POC category would interact in predicting Asian participants' attitudes towards Blacks, such that Asian participants' POC identification would predict positive attitudes towards Blacks for those participants that were more likely to view their ingroup as being included in the POC category. To evaluate this hypothesis for Asian participants, a regression analysis was conducted predicting attitudes towards Blacks from Asian participants' POC identification, inclusion of Asians into the POC category, and an

interaction term (POC identification * Asian inclusion). Contrary to the hypotheses, identification and inclusion did not interact in predicting Black evaluation (b = .01, se = .03, p =.78). A follow-up regression was conducted without the interaction term, in which Asian participants' POC identification was found to predict attitudes towards Blacks (b = .36, se =.07, p< .001), controlling for ethnic group identification. However, inclusion of Asians into the POC category was not found to be a significant predictor of attitudes toward Blacks (b = -.03, se =.05, p = .56), controlling for POC identification.

[illegible]

Based on the trends in intergroup attitudes in the national polling data discussed in the introduction, it was expected that Black and Asian participants would show a high level of intergroup prejudice towards one another, as compared to their attitudes towards Whites. The Study 1 analyses confirmed this trend for both the Asian and Black samples, such that both Black and Asian participants do not have more positive attitudes towards each others' groups than they do towards Whites. Analyses also confirmed the hypothesis that Blacks, who are typically seen as a low status ethnic group in the U.S., would be more likely to report ethnic group-based discrimination occurring in the U.S. than Asians. Interestingly, Blacks participants reported higher levels of identification with the POC category than Asian participants, despite the category "people of color," often being thought of as a categorization of all non-White ethnic groups in the U.S.

Correlational analyses revealed some interesting divergent trends for Asian and Black participants' intergroup attitudes. While Asian participants' POC identification predicted positive attitudes towards Blacks, Black participants' POC identification actually predicted negative attitudes towards Asians. In addition, while Asian participants' agreement with ethnic group-based discrimination occurring did not predict attitudes towards Blacks, Black participants' agreement

with ethnic group-based discrimination predicted marginally negative attitudes towards Asians. I would argue that this pattern of results suggests that Black participants view the ethnic hierarchy in the U.S. as being one of "Black exceptionalism" – or that Blacks face a level of discrimination in the U.S. that other ethnic minority groups are not subjected to. As a result, the more Black participants feel that ethnic group-based discrimination exists, the more hostility they will show towards Asians, who are considered a higher status minority group. This hypothesis seems to be supported by the moderate correlation between POC identification and ethnic group-based discrimination for Black participants. I would argue that the negative correlation between Blacks' POC identification and their evaluation of Asians is partially because they do not consider Asians to be an ethnic group that is discriminated against, and thus, typically exclude them from the people of color category. I believe this hypothesis is further supported by the fact that Black participants' inclusion of Asians into the people of color category is actually positively correlated with Black participants' evaluation of Asians. Thus, it seems possible that the relationship between Black participants' POC identification and negative attitudes towards Asians is due to Blacks not typically including Asians as part of the people of color superordinate identity. As a result, one objective of Study 2 is to investigate whether highlighting the similar barriers that both Asians and Blacks face in society will increase Black participants' likelihood of categorizing Asians as part of the ingroup, and consequentially improve Black participants' evaluation of Asians.

For Black participants, there was also a significant interaction found between POC identification and ethnic group identification in predicting attitudes towards Asians, such that high POC identification predicted negative attitudes towards participants only for Black participants low in ethnic group identification. Given the historical background behind the term "people of color," it is likely that ethnic minorities choose to identify with the POC category because of a recognition of the oppression that ethnic minorities face in the U.S.; the correlation between POC identification

and perceptions of discrimination for Black participants supports this hypothesis. It is likely that Black participants that are more highly identified with their ethnic group are more likely to conscious of issues facing ethnic minorities in the U.S. in general, and that the experience of being an ethnic minority is more important to them than participants low in ethnic group identification. As a result, it is not surprising that Black participants who highly value their ethnic identity would have more positive attitudes towards Asians, even at a high level of POC identification. Black participants who are high in POC identification but low in ethnic group identification might be aware of their oppressed status in society, but may not strongly value their ethnic group membership; as a result, it would make sense that these participants would have negative attitudes towards Asians, who may be perceived as having unfair advantages in the U.S. (as compared to other ethnic minority groups). This pattern of results gives further support to the hypothesis that making the ethnic discrimination that Asians face salient to Black participants will improve attitudes towards Asians.

The pattern of results found for Asian participants seems to support the predictions laid out by tri-racial hierarchy theorists (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2006), which state that Asians are not as likely to be aware of ethnic group-based discrimination occurring in the U.S. as Blacks. Moreover, these theories suggest that ethnic group identity becomes visible to Asians when they are made aware of their "honorary status," or in effect, that they realize that there are barriers between themselves and Whites. Thus far, the data show that Asians' positive evaluation of their ingroup is correlated with positive attitudes towards Blacks; in addition, Asians' POC identification predicts positive attitudes towards Blacks. I hypothesize that these results suggest that Asians who are aware of White prejudice towards non-Whites are more likely to hold positive attitudes towards their own and other ethnic minority groups. Thus, a second objective of Study 2 is to investigate whether

making the barriers to upward mobility that Asians face salient will increase Asians' attitudes towards Blacks.

The final factor that was explored in Study 1 as a predictor of intergroup attitudes was perceptions of group competition. Interestingly, for Asian participants, perceptions of zero-sum competition with Blacks predicted negative attitudes towards the ingroup and towards Whites, but not towards Blacks. Black participants followed the same pattern, such that perceptions of zero-sum competition with Asians predicted negative attitudes towards the ingroup and towards Whites, but not towards Asians. However, perceptions of zero-sum competition with Whites was actually found to predict negative attitudes towards Asians for Black participants, and negative attitudes towards Blacks for Asian participants. However, I would argue that the extent to which perceptions of White competition predicts inter-minority prejudice may be dependent on the extent to which ethnic minorities perceive that other ethnic minority groups also face an economic threat from Whites. Consequentially, the third objective of Study 2 is to examine whether shifting the salience of an economic threat (one's ethnic group facing an economic threat versus all people of color facing an economic threat) shifts perceptions of zero sum competition.

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Study 2 was designed to investigate how the salience of an economic threat influences intergroup attitudes for Asians and Blacks, and whether manipulating category boundaries would shift perceptions of inter-minority competition, and thus, intergroup evaluations. A 2x4 factorial design (participant ethnicity: Asian, Black) x (threat condition: control, general threat, superordinate identity threat, ethnic group specific threat) was created in order to assess the effects of categorization and resource threat on Black-Asian attitudes.

One of the primary objectives of Study 2 was to examine the effects of the salience of an economic threat on intergroup attitudes (as compared to a control condition). Given that the results of Study 1 suggest that Black participants see Asians as strong economic competitors, I predicted that Blacks' attitudes towards Asians should be more negative when an economic threat is made salient. However, I did not expect Asians to be likely to view Blacks as being strong economic competitors, due to Asians' perceived higher economic status in U.S. society. As a result, I hypothesized the salience of a general economic threat would not have a significant effect on Asian participants' attitudes towards Blacks.

The second objective of Study 2 was to investigate whether changing the ways in which an economic threat is framed (economic threat to one's ethnic group, or economic threat to the superordinate "people of color" group) influences Black-Asian attitudes (as compared to the general economic threat and control conditions). As discussed in the introduction, there is a basis for competing predictions about the effect of superordinate categorization manipulation on attitudes. The common ingroup identity model to prejudice reduction (e.g., Gaertner & Dovidio,

2000), in particular, suggests it should have positive effects. However, there is also a basis for a prediction that it might under some conditions create reactance (e.g., Hornsey & Hogg, 1999; O'Brien, 2008; White, et al., 2006).

For Black participants, I hypothesized that the highest evaluation of Asians would be in the superordinate identity threat condition, as this condition was expected to 1) make a common ingroup identity for Asians and Blacks salient, and 2) make it salient that Asians are subject to discrimination in a manner similar to Blacks. I hypothesized that the superordinate categorization condition would reduce the extent to which Black participants view Asians as economic competitors, and thus, result in more positive attitudes towards Asians. A competing hypothesis, however, was that superordinate categorization would make the limited resources that ethnic minority groups must compete for more salient to Black participants, and thus result in more negative attitudes towards Asians. I did not predict that the Black group specific threat would have a significant effect on Black participants' attitudes towards Asians (as compared to the general threat condition), because of the relatively slow status of Blacks in the U.S. I expected the threat of low economic resources to be chronically salient to Black participants, and attitudes towards Asians to be equally negative in the general threat condition as a result.

I hypothesized that the threat framings may have a different effect on Asian participants than on Black participants. Past research on the common ingroup identity model supported the hypothesis that Asian participants would report the highest evaluation of Blacks in the superordinate identity threat condition, as Asian participants should be most likely to classify Blacks as part of the ingroup in this condition. A competing hypothesis was that Asian participants would not recognize their group as being threatened in the superordinate threat condition, and that their attitudes towards Blacks would not be significantly different than the general threat condition, as a result. Instead, it was hypothesized that Asian participants might be most likely to recognize

the discrimination their own ethnic group faces in a condition where the threat to their own group is stated more directly (the Asian group threat condition). It was predicted that Asians would be more likely to identify with the discrimination other ethnic minorities face in the Asian group threat condition, and that their attitudes towards Blacks would be the most positive in this condition as a result.

A secondary purpose of this study was to explore how Black participants and Asian participants' attitudes towards the other ethnic minority group shifted in relation to their attitudes towards Whites. I predicted that Black participants' attitudes towards Whites would be more positive than Blacks' attitudes towards Asians in all threat conditions except for the superordinate identity condition, assuming that Black participants are likely to see Asians as their highest competition for economic resources. In the superordinate identity condition, however, I predicted that the economic advantages Whites have over both Blacks and Asians would become more salient. As a result, I hypothesized that Black participants will be more likely to view Whites as economic competition (as compared to Asians), and Black participants would show more negative attitudes towards Whites than Asians. For Asian participants, I predicted their attitudes towards Whites would be more negative than those towards Blacks in the superordinate condition *if* this condition sufficiently made the economic advantages that Whites have over Asians salient. However, it is also possible that Asian participants' attitudes towards Whites will be lowest in the own-group salient condition, as this condition should make the barriers Asians face to upward mobility most salient. Therefore, I predicted that when the economic opportunities Whites have (as compared to Asians' opportunities) is most salient, Asian participants should be more likely to view Whites as economic competition, and their attitudes will be more positive towards Blacks than Whites.

Participants

Participants (*N*= 306) who self-identified as Asian or Black were invited to participate in this study. Approximately half of the participants were recruited from the University of Massachusetts at Amherst psychology participant pool, and received experimental credit as compensation for participating. The remainder of the participants were recruited from colleges across the United States, and invited to participate in the study online in exchange for entry into a lottery for cash prizes. Demographics for Black and Asian participants are presented in Table 5.

Measures

Group Attitudes

Group Attitudes was assessed using the same items designed for Study 1. The construct for Group Attitudes was found to be reliable for both Black participants' attitudes towards their ingroup (α = .93), their attitudes towards Asians (α = .86), and their attitudes towards Whites (α = .90). The construct was also found to be reliable for Asians participants' attitudes towards their ingroup (α = .83), their attitudes towards Blacks (α = .86), and their attitudes towards Whites (α = .86).

Ethnic Group Identification

Ethnic Group Identification was assessed using the same items designed for Study 1. The construct for Ethnic Group Identification was found to be reliable for both Black participants (α = .88) and Asian participants (α = .88).

People of Color Identification was assessed using the same items designed for Study 1. The construct for People of Color Identification was found to be reliable for both Black participants (α = .87) and Asian participants (α = .87).

[illegible]

Inclusion into the People of Color Identity was assessed using the same single item designed for Study 1.

[illegible]

The measure for Perceptions of Ethnic Group Discrimination was the same as used for Study 1. The composite for Perceptions of Ethnic Group Discrimination was reliable for both Asians (α = .73) and Blacks (α = .78).

[illegible]

A more specific measure of ethnic group discrimination was created in order to assess participants' beliefs about the discrimination specific ethnic groups face. Participants were asked group-specific variations of the following statements, "how much do you think discrimination plays a role in why Blacks/Asians might face difficulties securing employment?" and, "how much discrimination do you think against Blacks/Asians exists in society today, limiting their changes to get ahead?" (assessed on a 7-point scale; 1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Very much*). The composite for group-specific discrimination was found to be reliable for Asian participants' perceptions of discrimination towards Asians (α = .66) and Blacks (α = .60). The composite was also found to be reliable for Black participants' perceptions of discrimination towards Blacks (α = .68) and towards Asians (α = .62).

[illegible]

The measure from Study 1 was adapted to create a new measure of Perceived Competition. Participants were asked indicated their disagreement or agreement with group-specific variations of the statements, "the economic advancement of (Asians/Blacks/Whites) threatens the advancement of members of my ethnic group," and, "as the employment rate for (Asians/Blacks/Whites) goes up, the employment rate for members of my ethnic group will go down," (assessed on a 7-point scale; 1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*). The composite for Perceived Competition was found to be reliable for both Black participants' perceived competition with Asians (α = .73) and Asian participants' perceived competition with Blacks (α = .83).

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Participants were recruited through the undergraduate psychology participant pool at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst in exchange for experimental credit, as well as recruited nationally through online advertisements (e.g., Craigslist, Facebook, MTurk) in exchange for entry into a lottery for cash prizes. Participants were invited to participate in this study based on their responses on a pre-screening questionnaire consisting of several demographic variables. Participants who ethnically identified themselves as Asian or Black, and reported that they were a college student at a four-year university in the United States were invited to participate. In order to reduce suspicion about the purpose of the study, participants were not initially told that their ethnic group identification was a criterion for participating in the study. Instead, participants were simply told that college students were being recruited to give their opinions on the results of a recent national survey that was conducted with college students.

After indicating their consent to participate in the study, Asian and Black participants were randomly assigned to a no threat (control) condition, or one of three economic threat conditions, in which they read a fictitious news article about the high rate of unemployment for recent college

graduates. In the first economic threat condition (*the general threat condition*), participants read an article which provided statistics on the high rate of unemployment for recent college graduates (see Appendix F). In the second economic threat condition (*the superordinate threat condition*), participants read an article that provided statistics on the high rate of unemployment for recent college graduates of color (Asians, Blacks, and Latinos) (see Appendix G). In the third economic threat condition (*the own-group threat condition*), participants read an article that provided statistics on the high rate of unemployment for recent college graduates of their specific ethnic group (Asian or Black) (see Appendix H). Participants then filled out a questionnaire with several measures, including group attitudes, ethnic group identification, POC identification, perceptions of competition with other ethnic groups, and perceptions of ethnic group discrimination in U.S. society. In the control condition, participants did not receive an article, and were immediately directed to complete the questionnaire. After completing the questionnaire, all participants were thanked and fully debriefed.

[illegible]

16 participants indicated suspicion about the stimulus materials in the debriefing session, and were excluded from analyses. Of the remaining participants, 19 indicated that they already had post-graduation employment secured at the time of taking the survey, and were excluded from analyses. The final sample included 144 Asian participants and 131 Black participants.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Means and standard deviations for group attitudes in each experimental condition are presented in Table 6. A series of ANCOVAs were conducted in order to investigate the effects of participant ethnicity (Black, Asian) and experimental condition (control, general threat,

superordinate threat, and ethnic group specific threat) on intergroup attitudes, controlling for participant age, immigrant status (born in the U.S. or not), and method of recruitment (UMass Amherst or other college). The first ANCOVA investigated the effects of participant ethnicity and experimental condition on attitudes towards Whites. There was a marginally significant main effect of participant ethnicity, $F(1, 248) = 3.49$, $p = .06$, partial $\eta^2 = .06$, such that Asians' attitudes towards Whites ($M = 4.96$) was significantly higher than Blacks' attitudes towards Whites ($M = 4.62$). There was not a significant main effect found for experimental condition, $F(3, 248) = .72$, $p = .54$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. The interaction term between ethnic group and experimental condition was not found to be significant, $F(3,269) = 1.57$, $p = .20$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$. There was not a significant effect found for each of the covariates of participant age, immigrant status, and method of recruitment.

The second ANCOVA investigated the effects of participant ethnicity and experimental condition on attitudes towards Asians. There was a significant main effect of participant ethnicity, $F(1, 248) = 44.48$, $p<.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .15$, such that Asian participants' attitudes towards Asians ($M = 5.89$) was significantly higher than Black participants' attitudes towards Asians ($M = 4.82$). There was not a significant main effect found for experimental condition, $F(3, 248) = .33$, $p = .90$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$. The interaction term between ethnic group and experimental condition was not found to be significant, $F(3,248) = 1.33$, $p = .27$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$. There was a marginally significant effect found for the covariate of immigrant status, $F(1,248) = 3.46$, $p = .06$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$, such that participants that were born outside of the U.S. ($M = 5.74$) had significantly higher attitudes towards Asians than participants born in the U.S. ($M = 5.21$).

The third ANCOVA investigated the effects of participant ethnicity and experimental condition on attitudes towards Blacks. There was a significant main effect of participant ethnicity,

$F(1, 248) = 90.82$, $p<.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .27$, such that Blacks' attitudes towards Blacks ($M = 6.08$) was significantly higher than Asians' attitudes towards Blacks ($M = 4.47$). There was not a significant main effect found for experimental condition, $F(3, 248) = .33$, $p = .80$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$. The interaction term between ethnic group and experimental condition was not found to be significant, $F(3,248) = 1.75$, $p = .16$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$. There was not a significant effect found for each of the covariates of participant age, immigrant status, and method of recruitment.

The fourth ANCOVA investigated differences in Black and Asian participants' attitudes towards the other ethnic minority group. There was a significant main effect of participant ethnicity, $F(1, 248) = 3.91$, $p = .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$, such that Black participants' attitudes towards Asians ($M = 4.81$) was significantly higher than Asians' attitudes towards Blacks ($M = 4.46$). There was not a significant main effect found for experimental condition, $F(3, 248) = .51$, $p=.68$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. The interaction term between ethnic group and experimental condition was not found to be significant, $F(3,248) = .98$, $p = .40$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. There was not a significant effect found for each of the covariates of participant age, immigrant status, and method of recruitment.

[illegible]

A second set of ANCOVAs was conducted to examine the effects of ethnicity and experimental condition on identification with the ethnic subgroup, identification with POC identity, and inclusion of groups within the POC identity, controlling for participant age, immigrant status, and method of recruitment. The first ANCOVA examined the effects of participant ethnicity and experimental condition on participants' identification with their own ethnic group (Asian or Black). There was a marginally significant main effect of participant ethnicity, $F(1, 248) = 3.22$, $p<.07$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$, such that Black participants' level of identification with their ethnic group ($M = 5.53$) was significantly higher than Asian participants' level of identification with their ethnic group

(*M* = 5.20). There was not a significant main effect found for experimental condition, $F(3, 248) = .98$, $p = .40$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. The interaction term between participant ethnicity and experimental condition was not found to be significant, $F(3,248) = 1.03$, $p = .38$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. There was a significant effect found for the covariate of method of recruitment, $F(1,248) = 5.4$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2 = .02$.

The second ANCOVA examined the effects of participant ethnicity and experimental condition on participants' identification with the "people of color" identity. There was a significant main effect of participant ethnicity, $F(1, 247) = 43.14$, $p<.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .15$, such that Black participants had a significantly higher POC identification (*M* = 5.44) than Asian participants (*M* = 4.01). There was not a significant main effect found for experimental condition, $F(3, 247) = .92$, $p = .43$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. The interaction term between participant ethnicity and experimental condition was not found to be significant, $F(3,247) = .10$, $p = .96$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$. There was a significant effect found for the covariate of method of recruitment, $F(1,247) = 4.46$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2 = .02$, such that Black participants from UMass Amherst (*M* = 5.71) reported a significantly higher level of POD identification than Black participants recruited outside UMass Amherst (*M* = 5.11).

[redacted]

The second set of ANCOVAs examined the effects of participant ethnicity and experimental condition on participants' inclusion of the other into the POC superordinate category. The first analysis looked at the inclusion of Asians into the POC category. There was a significant main effect of participant ethnicity, $F(1, 247) = 21.80$, $p<.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .08$, such that Asians (*M*=4.83) were significantly more likely to include Asians into the POC category than Blacks (*M*=3.52). There was not a significant main effect found for experimental condition, $F(3, 247) = .98$, $p=.40$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. The interaction term between participant ethnicity and experimental condition was not found to be significant, $F(3,247) = .57$, $p = .64$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. There was a significant effect found for the

covariate for immigrant status, $F(1,247) = 10.50$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .04$, such that participants born outside of the U.S. ($M = 5.09$) were significantly more likely to include Asians in the POC category than participants born in the U.S. ($M = 3.87$). The second analysis looked at the inclusion of Blacks into the POC category. There was a significant main effect of participant ethnicity, $F(1, 247) = 5.20$, $p = .02$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$, such that Blacks ($M = 6.78$) were significantly more likely to include Blacks into the POC category than Asians ($M = 6.46$). There was not a significant main effect found for experimental condition, $F(3, 247) = .37$, $p = .77$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. The interaction term between participant ethnicity and experimental condition was not found to be significant, $F(3,247) = .62$, $p = .60$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. There was a significant effect found for the covariate for method of recruitment, $F(1,247) = 5.93$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .02$ such that Participants from UMass Amherst ($M = 6.74$) were significantly more likely to include Blacks into the POC category than participants from outside of UMass Amherst ($M = 6.44$).

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were significantly more likely to perceive competition with the other ethnic minority group than participants born outside of the U.S. (M = 2.50).

Post hoc analyses for Black participants found that Black participants' perception of competition with Asians was significantly lower in the people of color threat condition (M = 2.65) than in the Black-specific threat condition, (M = 3.62), $t(61) = 5.27$, $p<.05$.

[illegible]

An initial set of ANCOVAs were conducted to examine the effects of ethnicity and experimental condition on perceptions of general ethnic discrimination, controlling for participant age, immigrant status, and method of recruitment. The first ANCOVA examined the effects of participant ethnicity and experimental condition on participants' perceptions of ethnic discrimination occurring in the United States. There was a marginally significant main effect of participant ethnicity, $F(1, 248) = 3.22$, $p = .07$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$, such that Black participants (M= 5.33) were significantly more likely to agree that ethnic discrimination occurs in the U.S. than Asian participants (M = 5.71). There was not a significant main effect found for experimental condition, $F(3, 248) = .98$, $p = .40$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. The interaction term between participant ethnicity and experimental condition was not found to be significant, $F(3,248) = 1.03$, $p = .38$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. There was a marginally significant effect found for the covariate of immigrant status, $F(1,248) = 3.42$ $p = .07$, $\eta^2 = .02$ such that Asian participants born in the U.S. (M = 5.56) were significantly more likely to perceive general ethnic discrimination to exist in the U.S. than Asian participants born outside of the U.S. (M = 5.07).

Post-hoc analyses found that there was a marginally significant difference in perceptions of discrimination in the people of color threat condition, such that Black participants (M = 5.71) were significantly more likely to perceive ethnic discrimination to be a problem in the U.S. than Asian

participants (M = 5.26), $t(63) = 2.92$, p = .10. There were no significant differences in Black and Asian participants' perceptions of ethnic discrimination in the remaining conditions.

A second set of ANCOVAs examined the effects of ethnicity and experimental condition on the more specific perceptions of Asians and Blacks facing discrimination in the U.S. For the first ANCOVA conducted on perceptions of discrimination against Asians, there was a significant main effect of participant ethnicity, $F(1, 248) = 7.87$, p = <.01, partial η^2= 03, such that Asians (M = 4.28) were more likely to perceive discrimination against Asians as occurring in the U.S. than Black participants (M = 3.88). There was not a significant main effect found for experimental condition, $F(3, 248) = .89$, p = .45, partial η^2= .01. The interaction term between participant ethnicity and experimental condition was not found to be significant, $F(3,248) = .62$, p=.60, partial η^2= .00. There was a significant effect found for the covariate of method of recruitment, $F(1,248) = 7.56$, p<.01, η^2= .03, such that participants from UMass Amherst (M = 3.68) were significantly more likely to perceive discrimination against Asians than participants from outside UMass Amherst (M = 3.40). There was not a significant effect found for the covariates of immigrant status or age.

For the second ANCOVA conducted on perceptions of discrimination against Blacks, there was not a significant main effect of participant ethnicity, $F(1, 248) = .58$, p = .45, partial η^2 = .00, experimental condition, $F(3, 248) = 1.63$, p = .18, partial η^2 = .02, or the interaction term between participant ethnicity and experimental condition, $F(3,248) = .1.62$, p = .19, partial η^2= .02. There was not a significant effect found for any of the covariates. There was not a significant effect found for each of the covariates of participant age, immigrant status, and method of recruitment.

[redacted]

A series of within subject ANOVAs were conducted in order to examine whether the experimental conditions had an effect on participants' preferences for their own and other ethnic

groups. For Black participants, there was not a significant difference in their attitudes towards Whites versus their attitudes towards Asians in each of the four conditions. Collapsing across conditions, there was not a significant difference in Black participants' attitudes towards Whites (*M* = 4.60) and Asians (M = 4.78), *t(*130) = 1.8, *p*= .07. For Asian participants, attitudes towards Whites were significantly higher than attitudes towards Blacks in each of the four conditions. Collapsing across conditions, Asian participants' attitudes towards Whites (M = 4.94) was significantly higher than their attitudes towards Blacks (*M* = 4.45), *t*(143) = 5.14, *p*<.001.

A second set of within subject ANOVAs were conducted in order to examine whether the experimental conditions had an effect on participants' perceived competition with their own and other ethnic groups. Experimental condition did not moderate Black participants' perceived competition with Whites versus Asians; collapsing across conditions, Blacks' perceived zero-sum competition with Whites (*M* = 4.05) was significantly higher than their perceived zero-sum competition with Asians (*M* = 3.05), *t*(130) = 7.29, *p*<.001. Experimental condition did not moderate Black participants' perceptions of zero-sum competition with Asians versus their own ethnic group; collapsing across conditions, Black participants' perceived zero-sum competition with Asians (*M*= 3.05) was significantly higher than perceived zero-sum competition with their ingroup (*M*=1.91), *t*(130) = 6.70, *p*<.001. Experimental condition did not moderate Asian participants' perceptions of zero-sum competition with Whites versus their ingroup; collapsing across conditions, Asian participants were significantly more likely to perceive zero-sum competition with Whites (*M* = 3.82) than with their ingroup (*M* = 2.11), *t*(143) = 10.70, *p*<.001. Asian participants were significantly more likely to perceive zero-sum competition with Blacks than with their ingroup in all conditions except the POC threat condition, in which there were no significant differences in Asian participants' perceived competition with Asians (*M* = 2.50) versus Blacks (*M* = 2.73), *t*(32) = 1.1, p = .28.

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While the experimental conditions did not have an effect on intergroup attitudes at the mean level, exploratory correlational and regression analyses were conducted to examine whether the experimental conditions had an effect on the strength of the relationship between key variables. Correlations are presented broken down by ethnic group and condition in Tables 7-14.

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sum competition with Whites was not a significant predictor of attitudes towards Asians in the general threat or Black specific threat conditions.

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group identification. There was not a significant main effect found for either ethnic group identification or POC identification. In the control condition and Black specific threat conditions, there was not a significant interaction between Black participants' ethnic group and identification and POC identification in predicting attitudes towards Asians. In addition, follow-up regressions without the interaction term showed that both ethnic group identification and POC identification were not predictors of Black participants' attitudes towards Asians in these conditions.

For Asian participants, four multiple regression analysis were conducted predicting attitudes towards Blacks from Asian participants' ethnic group identification, POC identification, and an interaction term (ethnic group identification * POC identification) (see Figures 7-10). There was not a significant interaction found between ethnic group identification and POC identification in all four conditions. Follow-up multiple regressions without the interaction term found that POC identification predicted Asians' attitudes towards Blacks in the control condition, (b = .34, se = .13, p<.05), general threat condition, (b =.38, se = .13, p<.01), and the Asian specific threat condition, (b = .28, se = .13, p<.05), and marginally predicted Asians' attitudes towards Blacks in the POC threat condition (b = .22, se = .13, p = .09), such that POC identification predicted more favorable attitudes towards Blacks. There was not a significant main effect found for ethnic group identification in predicting attitudes towards Blacks in all four conditions, controlling for POC identification.

A second set of regression analyses was conducted to examine the effects of POC identification and inclusion of Asians into the POC category on Asian-Black attitudes. I was particularly interested in exploring whether the relationship between Black participants' POC identification and their attitudes would change, depending on whether Black participants were likely to include Asians into the POC category. For Black participants, four multiple regression

analysis were conducted predicting attitudes towards Asians from Black participants' ethnic group identification, POC identification, and an interaction term (POC identification * Asian inclusion) (see Figures 11-14). There was not a significant interaction found between POC identification and Asian inclusion in predicting Black participants' attitudes towards Asians in any of the four conditions. Follow-up multiple regressions without the interaction term found that in the POC threat condition, inclusion of Asians into the POC category significantly predicted more favorable attitudes towards Asians (b = .26, se = .09, p<.01), controlling for Black participants' POC identification. In the Black specific threat condition, POC identification predicted less favorable attitudes towards Asians (b = -.40, se = .13, p<.01); however, inclusion of Asians as POC was found to predict positive attitudes towards Asians (b = .37, se = .10, p = .001). Collapsing across experimental conditions, there was not a significant interaction found between POC identification and Asian inclusion in predicting Black participants' attitudes towards Asians. Follow-up multiple regressions without the interaction term found that Black participants' inclusion of Asians into the POC category predicted favorable attitudes towards Asians (b = .23, se = .05, p<.001), controlling for Blacks' POC identification. Black participants' POC identification was not a significant predictor of attitudes towards Asians (b = -.07, se = .07, p = .34), controlling for inclusion of Asians into the POC category.

For Asian participants' attitudes towards Blacks, the relationship between POC identification and inclusion was also explored through multiple regression analyses. Four multiple regression analyses were conducted predicting attitudes towards Blacks from Asian participants' POC identification, inclusion of Asians into the POC category, and an interaction term (POC identification * Asian inclusion) (see Figures 15-18). There was a significant interaction between POC identification and inclusion of Asians found in the general threat condition, (b = .12, se = .06, p = .05), such that POC identification was more likely to predict positive attitudes towards Blacks if Asian participants were likely to view Asians as belonging to the POC category. There was also a

significant main effect of inclusion of Asians (b = .23, se =.12, p = .03), and a marginally significant main effect of POC identification (b = .23, se = .12, p = .06) in predicting attitudes towards Blacks, with both variables predicting more favorable attitudes towards Blacks. There was not a significant interaction found between POC identification and inclusion of Asians into the POC category for the other conditions. Follow-up multiple regressions without the interaction term found that in the control condition, POC identification predicted favorable attitudes towards Blacks, (b = .45, se = .13, p = .001), controlling for Asian participants' inclusion of Asians into the POC category. However, also in the control condition, inclusion of Asians into the POC category predicted less favorable attitudes towards Blacks, (b = -.23, se = .09, p<.05), controlling for POC identification. In the superordinate threat condition, neither POC identification nor inclusion of Asians into the POC category were found to be significant predictors of attitudes towards Blacks. In the Asian specific threat condition, POC identification predicted more favorable attitudes towards Blacks (b = .36, se = .14, p<.05), but inclusion of Asians into the POC category was not a significant predictor.

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significant main effects of condition found for the native born sample. There were also no significant differences found between native-born Black and Asian participants' level of ethnic group identification and perceptions of ethnic group discrimination in the U.S.

In the following analyses, the three threat conditions were collapsed into one large threat condition, creating two experimental conditions (control and threat). A series of 2x2x2 ANCOVAs (ethnicity * immigrant status * condition) were conducted using the full Asian (N = 144) and Black (N = 126) samples, controlling for recruitment method, and participant age. There were no significant interactions between immigration status and condition found for either of the ethnic groups, or main effects for experimental condition found.

[illegible]

Correlational analyses were conducted with both the native born and foreign born Black and Asian samples, in order to further investigate whether immigrant status influenced the pattern of relationships between key variables (see Tables 15-18). Of particular interest, perceptions of ethnic discrimination was negatively correlated with attitudes towards Asians for native born Black participants, $r(107) = -.21$, $p<.05$, but there was no significant relationship between these two variables for foreign born Black participants, $r(22) = -.12$, $p=.68$. In addition, while POC identification was moderately correlated with perceptions of discrimination against Blacks for native born Black participants, $r(107) = .30$, $p<.01$, there was no significant relationship between these two variables for foreign born Black participants, $r(22)= .21$, $p = .34$. Of particular interest within the Asian sample, for native born Asian participants, both ethnic group identification, $r(86) = .33$, $p<.01$ and POC identification, $r(86) = .26$, $p<.05$ were correlated with perceptions of discrimination against Asians. However, for foreign born Asian participants, there was not a

significant correlation between perceptions of discrimination against Asians and ethnic group identification, $r(52) = -.15$, $p = .30$, or POC identification, $r(52) = -.03$, $p = .85$.

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The results of Study 2 do not indicate that the experiment had an effect on participants' group attitudes at a mean level. However, the results of the exploratory correlational and regression analyses indicate that the experiment had an indirect effect on group attitudes by influencing the strength of the relationship between some of the primary independent and dependent variables examined in this study. Of particular interest, it was found that the experimental conditions changed the extent to which ethnic group identification and POC identification predicted (and interacted to predict) Black-Asian attitudes for Black participants. For Black participants, the significant interaction between ethnic group identification and POC identification for Black participants in Study 1 was not replicated in the control condition in Study 2. Interestingly, though, the interaction that was found between ethnic group identification and POC identification in Study 1 shows an opposite pattern than the interaction that was found between these variables in the general threat and superordinate threat conditions in Study 2.

In the general and superordinate threat conditions in Study 2, high POC identification was found to predict less favorable attitudes towards Asians for the Black participants that were high in ethnic group identification, and to predict more favorable attitudes towards Asians for the Black participants low in ethnic group identification.

These results suggest that when a resource threat is made salient, Black participants highly identified with their ethnic group may be highly conscious of the low economic status of Blacks in relation to Asians in the U.S. While Blacks viewed Whites as stronger economic competitors than Asians, the Study 2 results show that even in the superordinate threat condition, Blacks do not view

Asians as being as discriminated against in U.S. society (and they are not as likely to include Asians in the POC category as they are Blacks). Thus, it makes sense that POC identification would predict more negative attitudes towards Asians for Black participants high in ethnic group identification. It is possible that the Black participants low in ethnic group identification did not interpret a threat to exist specifically against their own ethnic group when the economic threat was made salient; as a result, these participants were able to hold more positive attitudes towards other ethnic minority groups were made salient. An interaction was not found between ethnic group ID and POC ID for Black participants in the Black specific threat condition; however, POC ID was found to be predict less favorable attitudes towards Asians, and inclusion of Asians into the POC category was found to predict positive attitudes towards Asians.

This pattern of results suggested a potential interaction between POC ID and inclusion of Asians into the POC category in predicting intergroup attitudes. A multiple regression for Black participants did not find a significant interaction in predicting attitudes towards Asians in any of the conditions. For Asian participants, however, a significant interaction between POC identification and inclusion of Asians in the POC category was found in the general threat condition, such that POC identification predicted positive attitudes towards Blacks only when Asians were likely to include Asians in the POC category. This significant interaction gives further support to results of Study 1, which suggest that it is not sufficient to simply measure POC identification to try to assess identification with a superordinate "ethnic minority" identity. Interestingly, this interaction was not existent in any of the economic threat salience conditions; future analysis will explore the inclusion of Asians into the POC category in each of the experimental conditions more thoroughly.

One of the primary hypotheses for Study 2 was that zero-sum competition is a source of prejudice between Asians and Blacks. While the experiment did not affect the mean levels of

participants' perceived competition with the other ethnic minority group, the conditions did shift the strength of the relationship between zero sum competition and intergroup attitudes. In particular, there was an interesting divergent trend in the POC condition for both Black and Asian participants' perceived competition with the other ethnic minority group. For Asian participants, the negative relationship between perceived competition with Blacks and attitudes towards Blacks in the superordinate threat condition suggests that the salience of a threat to all people of color may have made the competition that exists between ethnic minorities for economic resources more salient to Asians; as a result, perceived competition with Blacks became a significant predictor of negative attitudes towards Blacks. For Black participants, however, the negative relationship that existed between perceived competition with Asians and attitudes that was evident in all other conditions was not found to be significant in the POC condition. This pattern of results suggests that while the salience of a people of color category might not reduce perceptions of Asians as economic competitors, it may reduce the extent to which negative attitudes towards Asians are driven by perceptions of zero-sum competition.

Research on the common ingroup identity model suggests that Asian and Black participants' attitudes towards the other ethnic minority group should have been most positive in the superordinate identity threat condition. However, I did not find that Black-Asian attitudes were more positive in the POC threat condition (as compared to other conditions), which should have made the superordinate POC category salient for both Black and Asian participants. I also predicted that Asian and Black participants in the POC condition would show more positive attitudes towards other ethnic minorities than they would towards Whites; however, both Asian and Black participants showed more positive attitudes towards Whites than the other ethnic minority group in all conditions, including the POC threat condition.

I predicted that the superordinate threat condition would improve attitudes between Asian and Black participants only if this condition made discrimination against ethnic minorities more salient than in the other conditions; however, there were no differences in any of the measures of perceived ethnic discrimination across conditions. In general, Black participants were significantly more likely to perceive ethnic discrimination as being a problem in the U.S. than Asian participants. It is possible that ethnic discrimination is chronically salient to Black participants, given they are perceived to be a lower status group than Asians, and that the POC condition or Black threat specific condition did not have an effect on their perceptions of discrimination as a result. Given that Black participants show a higher level of POC identification than Asian participants, the unemployment rate should have been salient to them in the POC condition – however, this experimental condition may not have adequately increased perceptions that Asians face the same ethnic discrimination in employment that Blacks do. This is supported by the results that Asians participants were more likely to agree that Asians face ethnic discrimination in the U.S. than Black participants, across all conditions.

Another prediction was that Black participants' attitudes towards Asians would be more positive in the POC condition because Blacks should be more likely to include Asians in the ingroup in the POC condition, and therefore be less likely to view Asians as economic competitors. However, perceived economic competition with Asians was not found to be significantly lower in the POC condition, as compared to the other conditions.

For Asian participants, I believe the pattern of results that were found suggests that the POC condition may not have made the threat of unemployment for their own ethnic group salient to them, and that they only viewed Blacks and Latinos as being particularly affected in this condition. Earlier, I had offered a competing hypothesis that Asian participants' attitudes towards Black participants would be most positive in the Asian threat specific condition, which should make the

unemployment rate to Asians most salient; however, I did not find that the Asian specific threat condition had a significant effect on Asians' attitudes. It is possible that in the POC and Asian specific threat conditions, Asian participants are not attributing their group's high rate of unemployment as being due to being a result of White discrimination. If Asian participants saw the high unemployment rate described for their ethnic group/for ethnic minorities as being due primarily to factors other than discrimination (e.g., simply the poor economy), this would explain why these conditions did not shift Asian participants' attitudes.

There are several practical limitations that must be taken into consideration when considering the results of Study 2. First, there were several demographic variables (including average participant age, immigrant status, recruitment method, etc.) that differed across the two ethnic group samples (Asian and Black). In particular, given the difficulties in recruiting Black participants on the UMass Amherst campus, a higher amount of Black participants were recruited from outside University of Massachusetts than were Asian participants. While these demographic variables were all controlled for in the analyses, it is not possible to currently account for potential differences in the college environments that different participants came from (e.g., average SES of the student at the participants' college, ethnic demographics at each college, geographic location, etc.), that may have contributed to the reported differences between Asian and Black participants. In addition, many of both the Asian and Black participants in the second study were not born in the United States – as indicated by the correlational analyses, it is likely that native and foreign born participants have differing perceptions of their own and other ethnic groups, and that there may be different predictors of native and foreign born participants' intergroup attitudes as a result. In particular, it is possible that native and foreign born ethnic minorities have differing perceptions of what the U.S.-based ethnic group labels of "Black" or "Asian" mean, and what a broader "people of color" identity means.

Secondly, it is possible that the use of the term "people of color" in the superordinate threat condition was not one that participants viewed as being inclusive of both Black and Asian participants. As noted in Study 1, Study 2 found that all participants were less likely to view Asians as belonging to the POC category than Blacks. It is possible that the POC threat condition did indeed make a superordinate category (inclusive of Asians) salient to both Black and Asian participants, and that this activation was not sufficient to shift intergroup attitudes. However, I recognize that the term "people of color" is one that has different meanings to different people, and it is not necessarily an automatic categorization that includes all ethnic minorities. Blacks and Latinos are usually considered to be more prototypical "ethnic minority" groups than Asians; as a result, it is possible that even though the POC threat condition listed Asians as being an affected group, Black participants viewed only Blacks and Latinos as being people of color affected in this condition. Only about 30% of Black participants in the POC threat condition reported that Asians were mentioned in their article as a group having trouble securing employment after graduation, as opposed to almost 100% of Asian participants who correctly identified Asians as being affected in the POC threat condition.

While the salience of the poor economy for recent college graduates should be a realistic threat for all college students, it is also possible that it was not realistic to participants that Asians would face the same economic hardships after graduating as other ethnic minorities, given that Asians are represented at higher percentages in higher education than other ethnic minority groups, and that statistics on the economic status of different ethnic groups in the U.S. are easily available. All participants who expressed suspicion about the articles being fake or exaggerated were excluded from the analyses described in this study; however, I do not have a measure of how accurately participants found the statistics in the article to represent the current state of the economy for college graduates. Participants were asked to report how anxious they felt about

finding employment after graduation at the beginning of the questionnaire (immediately after the article for those in the threat conditions); the reported level of anxiety was not found to differ by experimental condition for either Black or Asian participants. While it is possible that the articles simply were not effective in making the threat of unemployment salient, the majority of the participants also reported that the article made them feel anxious and stressed in an open-response question at the end of the questionnaire, which was included to probe for participant suspicion about study materials. Given that the economic prospects for college students have been low since the stock market crash in 2008, it is possible that the poor economy is already chronically salient for most college students.

There are several secondary measures that were included in Study 2 that were not analyzed for the purpose of this paper, but would be beneficial to explore in future analyses with this dataset. The extent to which participants believe that different ethnic groups face difficulties securing employment because of various factors (including discrimination, lack of skills, etc.), has not yet been explored fully. In addition, we included several measures that asked participants about the extent to which they believed different ethnic groups were entitled to the economic opportunities they perceived them to have to have. Finally, there were several specific measures assessing perceptions of the ways in which ethnic minority groups differ from Whites (including perceived differences in access to employment, the extent to which Whites are seen as being different or similar to minorities, etc.) Further exploration of these additional variables will help us to understand whether Black and Asian participants in the POC threat condition viewed Asian participants as being likely to face problems with employment because of discrimination (amongst other questions).

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The purpose of this research was to establish a greater understanding of the predictors of inter-minority attitudes (in particular, Black-Asian attitudes), as well as the factors that might reduce inter-minority prejudice. Given the lack of empirical data that currently exists on inter-minority attitudes, Study 1 was developed in order to gain a better understanding of the antecedents of inter-minority attitudes. We know from existing research on categorization processes that intergroup attitudes can be driven by inclusion and exclusion of others into the ingroup). Thus, Study 2 was conducted in order to investigate how shifting the salience of group boundaries influences perceptions of intergroup threat and inter-minority attitudes.

To date, research on intergroup prejudice in the field of social psychology (as well as across academic disciplines more broadly) has focused almost exclusively on understanding the roots and implications of majority-minority prejudice; I assume the relative lack of a of discourse on inter-minority relations is partially due to assumptions that inter-minority prejudice does not occur to the same extent as White-minority prejudice, and that inter-minority prejudice does not have societal impacts. In addition, the difficulties that can exist in trying to recruit ethnic minority samples for studies also means that all ethnic minorities are often combined into a homogenous "minority" group when participating in studies, and differences that may exist within the people of color community are not often explored.

While the experiment in Study 2 did not produce the anticipated outcome on group attitudes at the mean level, it did give further support to several of the findings from Study 1, and both set of results raise interesting new questions to explore in future studies. One of the main implications of the research presented in this paper is that it provides empirical evidence that high

levels of prejudice may indeed exist between ethnic minority communities in the U.S., and that there is a need to conduct further research in this area. In Studies 1 and 2, Black participants' reported attitudes towards Asians were either equivalent to or less favorable than their reported attitudes towards Whites. Similarly for Asian participants, both Studies 1 and 2 found that Asian participants reported more positive attitudes towards Whites than they did towards Blacks. To date, social psychology research has primarily emphasized the need to improve relations between majority and minority groups, yet these studies demonstrate that racial and ethnic tensions between other communities in the U.S. may be even higher than White-minority prejudice.

It is often assumed that ethnic minorities should feel closer to other ethnic minorities than they do towards Whites because all ethnic minorities share the experience of being subordinate to the dominant White group. Studies 1 and 2 attempted to measure the concept of shared identity amongst ethnic minorities by creating a measure for "people of color" identification. Interestingly, these studies showed that POC identification alone is not a meaningful predictor of inter-minority attitudes; while "people of color" may often be used as an umbrella term to refer to all non-White groups in the U.S., the results indicate it is probable that some ethnic groups are seen as belonging more to the category than others. As a result, a prediction of Study 2 was that POC ID and inclusion of others into the POC category would increase if participants were made aware of the discrimination their own ethnic group faces, as well as the discrimination that other groups face as well. While the superordinate threat condition did not increase Asians' level of POC identification, or either group's willingness to include Asians in the POC category, it is possible that participants interpreted the meaning of the term "people of color" in different ways, and that some may see it as a fixed, rather than fluid category membership.

One of the goals of future studies is to more thoroughly identify when people are considered to be prototypical of the POC category (e.g., is it primarily dependent on ethnic group membership,

physical appearance, political identification, etc?), and how expectations for membership in this category may differ than from the expectations that are associated with other superordinate category labels that are commonly used. For example, the term "ethnic minorities" is used as an umbrella term as well, but may not appear to put as much emphasis on skin color as the term people of color; as a result, some ethnic minorities may identify with this term who may not identify as POC. While many of these terms are used interchangeably in society, I believe that differing perceptions of who's included and excluded from each of these labels is important to understand when trying to predict what will make ethnic minorities identify or disassociate from one another.

Despite the potential measurement issues with the term POC in these studies, the superordinate threat article in Study 2 clearly stated that Asian, Black, and Latino college graduates were all facing similar hardships after college; research on the common ingroup identity model suggests that this condition should have still made a shared identity salient for Black and Asian participants, and that they should show more positive attitudes towards the other group as a result. In future analyses, it would be interesting to explore whether perceptions of each ethnic minority group's work ethnic, skills, and perceived merit moderates the strength of the relationship between perceived competition and group attitudes.

Within the broad ethnic minority community, there are several sets of group relations that could be explored – for this set of studies, I chose to focus on Black-Asian attitudes because initial analyses on Study 1 suggested that relations between these two groups was the most negative, and there is a long history of tension and economic competition between these groups, particularly in more urban areas. One of my main hypotheses was that Black participants would view Asians more positively if they were able to view Asians as a group that faces similar oppression in society. However, I think academics and the economic sector are actually the areas in society that Asians are probably perceived to have the most success in the U.S.; in fact, they are often "perceived" as

passing the level of Whites in these areas. Given this, I think the manipulation might be much more effective in both increasing Blacks' perceptions of Asians as a disadvantaged group, and Asians being conscious of discrimination against their group, if the context is changed so that it is one in which Asians are not typically seen as having positive stereotypes in. For example, Asians are typically seen as the "perpetual foreigner," whereas Blacks (or more specifically, the subset of African Americans) are more likely to be viewed as the "successfully" assimilated ethnic minority group. As a result, I imagine presenting participants a scenario in which they can realistically imagine Asians facing prejudice in society (e.g., reading an editorial with someone making fun of Asians for their accents, food, etc.), might be more effective in eliciting feelings of sympathy with Asians than the economic threat article. However, it might also be that recognizing discrimination merely exists against another group is not enough to promote positive attitudes, but that the two groups must share the same experiences of discrimination in order to subscribe to a shared identity. Using the same scenario as an example, I imagine it is likely that more recent Black immigrant groups or recent Latino/a immigrants would be able to identify with the prejudice Asians face in the article, and would be most likely to have favorable attitudes towards them as a result. The necessity of these different factors in promoting a common ingroup identity will be explored in future studies.

Within the study results described in this paper, I have focused on identifying predictors of Black-Asian relations in particular; however, I have also collected data for Black and Asian participants' reported attitudes towards Latinos that would be valuable to explore in future analyses. If the experimental conditions are not found to have an effect on either Black or Asian participants attitudes towards Latinos as well, these results might help confirm that the possibility that the articles created for this experiment are not effectively manipulating the salience of group boundaries. However, I expect that the current pattern of results might be partially due to the

perceived status difference that exists between Blacks and Asians, whereas the status differences between Blacks and Latinos are likely to be perceived to be smaller. Given that Asians are typically represented at much higher percentages in higher education than Blacks and Latinos, it is possible that Blacks and Latinos perceive Asians as being the least likely to face difficulties after graduation. Whereas Blacks are commonly perceived to have low status in society, perceptions of where Latinos lie in relation to the other groups is less clear. To the extent that Asian participants and Black participants each see Latinos as being close to the status of their own ethnic groups, it is possible that the manipulations may be sufficient to either produce perceptions of competition with Latinos, or a common identity as a disadvantaged ethnic minority.

In drawing inferences from the results from these studies, I recognize that there is a great diversity of ethnic subgroups within each pan-ethnic group label used for the purpose of these studies (Asian and Black). Furthermore, I recognize that some ethnic subgroups are more represented in the samples for these studies than other ethnic subgroups are, and that the patterns found in these studies may change depending on what ethnic subgroups are represented within each of the Black and Asian groups. However, given the limited possibilities to recruit ethnic minorities on college campuses, and the relative lack of empirical data that has been collected from ethnic minority participants to date, I believe that the findings of these studies provide some valuable insight into the reasons why prejudice between Asians and Blacks may develop, and what strategies might be most effective in helping to reduce such tensions.

Novermber 10, 2010

College Graduates Face Toughest Job Market in Years

By JOHN STEVENSON

Washington, D.C. -- It's a tough time to be starting a career. Employment counselors and job placement specialists say the class of 2011 faces a daunting task finding work in the worst economy since the Great Depression.

A recent survey from the Economic Policy Institute (EPI) polled students from over 2,000 colleges across the nation, and found that just 19.7% of 2010 graduates who applied for a job actually have one.

In comparison, 26% of those graduating in 2009 and 51% of those graduating in 2008 who had applied for a job had one in hand by the time of graduation.

"Things fell apart really fast last year, but it looks like the job market for graduates has hit a bottom," said Phil Goodman, director of EPI, which conducts the annual survey. Recent graduates have seen their job prospects face an extraordinary decline over the past year, but the projections for 2011 graduates look to be even rougher. The total number of employers planning to hire recent college graduates in 2011 is 43%, down from a high of 69% in 2007.

The unemployment rate for college graduates is averaging about 14.7% this year, higher than any time over the past 35 years, the institute says, and is 50% higher than that of the overall population. Perhaps even more disheartening for recent graduates, salaries are not keeping pace with inflation, and salaries are down across the board for college graduates.

Students of this year's graduating class are expected to face unique challenges not only because they are dueling against the growing ranks of unemployed for work, but because they will be facing a backlog created from previous graduates who have yet to find fulltime employment. Departing seniors are "suffering from the recession like everyone else is, but the effects are going to stay with (them) for much longer," Goodman said. Today's seniors are "going to be earning much less than their counterparts who graduated in better times and they'll be in lower level occupations," he said.

November 10, 2010

Students of Color Face Toughest Job Market in Years

By JOHN STEVENSON

Washington, D.C. -- It's a tough time to be starting a career. Employment counselors and job placement specialists say the class of 2011 faces a daunting task finding work in the worst economy since the Great Depression.

A recent survey from the Economic Policy Institute polled Asian American, Black American, and Latino American students from over 2,000 colleges across the nation, and found that just 19.7% of 2010 graduates who applied for a job actually have one.

In comparison, 26% of those graduating in 2009 and 51% of those graduating in 2008 who had applied for a job had one in hand by the time of graduation.

"Things fell apart really fast last year, but it looks like the job market for graduates of color has hit a bottom," said Phil Goodman, director of the Economic Policy Institute. Recent graduates have seen their job prospects face an extraordinary decline over the past year, but the projections for 2011 graduates look to be even rougher. The total number of employers planning to hire recent college graduates in 2011 is 43%, down from a high of 69% in 2007.

The unemployment rate for recent non-White college graduates is averaging about 14.7% this year, higher than any time over the past 35 years, the institute says, and is 50% higher than that of the overall population. Perhaps even more disheartening for recent graduates, salaries are not keeping pace with inflation, and salaries are down across the board for college graduates.

Students of this year's graduating class are expected to face unique challenges not only because they are dueling against the growing ranks of unemployed for work, but because they will be facing a backlog created from previous graduates who have yet to find fulltime employment. Departing seniors are "suffering from the recession like everyone else is, but the effects are going to stay with (them) for much longer," Goodman said. Today's seniors are "going to be earning much less than their counterparts who graduated in better times and they'll be in lower level occupations," he said.

Novermber 10, 2010

Asian American College Graduates Face Toughest Job Market in Years

By JOHN STEVENSON

Washington, D.C. -- It's a tough time to be starting a career. Employment counselors and job placement specialists say the class of 2011 faces a daunting task finding work in the worst economy since the Great Depression.

A recent survey from the Economic Policy Institute polled Asian American students from over 2,000 colleges across the nation, and found that just 19.7% of 2010 graduates who applied for a job actually have one.

In comparison, 26% of those graduating in 2009 and 51% of those graduating in 2008 who had applied for a job had one in hand by the time of graduation.

"Things fell apart really fast last year, but it looks like the job market for graduates has hit a bottom," said Phil Goodman, director of the Economic Policy Institute. Recent graduates have seen their job prospects face an extraordinary decline over the past year, but the projections for 2011 graduates look to be even rougher. The total number of employers planning to hire recent college graduates in 2011 is 43%, down from a high of 69% in 2007.

The unemployment rate for Asian American college graduates is averaging about 14.7% this year, higher than any time over the past 35 years, the institute says, and is 50% higher than that of the overall population. Perhaps even more disheartening for recent graduates, salaries are not keeping pace with inflation, and salaries are down across the board for college graduates.

Students of this year's graduating class are expected to face unique challenges not only because they are dueling against the growing ranks of unemployed for work, but because they will be facing a backlog created from previous graduates who have yet to find fulltime employment. Departing seniors are "suffering from the recession like everyone else is, but the effects are going to stay with (them) for much longer," Goodman said. Today's seniors are "going to be earning much less than their counterparts who graduated in better times and they'll be in lower level occupations," he said.

Table 1. Study 1 Group Attitudes for Black and Asian Participants

	Attitudes towards Asians		Attitudes towards Blacks		Attitudes towards Whites	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Blacks	4.12_b	1.23	5.58_a	1.13	4.35_b	1.13
Asians	5.69_a	1.02	4.23_c	1.22	4.93_b	1.03

Note. Subscripts indicate significant differences at $p<.05$ by rows

Table 2. Study 1 Group Identification and Inclusion for Asians and Blacks

	Ethnic Group Identification		POC Identification		Inclusion of Asians		Inclusion of Blacks	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Blacks	5.01	1.33	5.34	1.27	4.55	1.99	6.72	.65
Asians	4.90	1.30	3.78	1.39	3.22	2.04	6.90	.43

Table 3. Study 1 Correlational Analyses for Asian Participants

	Attitudes towards Asians	Attitudes towards Blacks	Attitudes towards Whites	Ethnic Group ID	POC ID	Ethnic Discrim.	Comp. Asians	Comp. Blacks	Comp. Whites	Inclusion Asians POC	Inclusion Blacks POC
Attitudes towards Asians	1	.27**	.23*	.37**	.20**	.12	-.08	-.16*	-.04	.12	.06
Attitudes towards Blacks		1	.15*	.05	.39**	-.01	-.09	-.05	-.15*	.12	.13†
Attitudes towards Whites			1	-.11	-.07	-.15†	-.18*	-.12†	-.14†	-.06	.19*
Ethnic Group ID				1	.39**	.14†	.09	.06	.10	.19*	.02
					1	.11	.19*	.15†	.05	.41**	.00

POC ID											
Ethnic Discrim.						1	.03	.04	.11	-.02	.23**
Comp. Asians							1	.53**	.44**	.14†	-.11
Comp. Blacks								1	.37**	.09	-.19*
Comp. Whites									1	.05	-.02
Inclusion Asians POC										1	-.02
Inclusion Blacks POC											1

Note. † p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01

Table 4. Study 1 Correlational Analyses for Black Participants

	Attitudes towards Asians	Attitudes towards Blacks	Attitudes towards Whites	Ethnic Group ID	POC ID	Ethnic Discrim.	Comp. Asians	Comp. Blacks	Comp. Whites	Inclusion Asians POC	Inclusion Blacks POC
Attitudes towards Asians	1	.26**	.43**	-.04	-.19*	-.16†	-.12	-.07	-.18†	.27**	.10
Attitudes towards Blacks		1	.10	.32**	.36**	.15†	-.16†	-.08	-.10	.14	.12
Attitudes towards Whites			1	-.19*	-.36**	-.21*	-.15†	.01	-.23*	-.04	-.03
Ethnic Group ID				1	.49**	.06	-.11	.05	-.16	.22*	-.08
POC ID					1	.21*	-.06	-.11	.08	.16†	.10

Ethnic Discrim.						1	.08	-.20*	.18*	-.05	.15†
Comp. Asians							1	.51**	.47**	-.18*	.08
Comp. Blacks								1	.02	-.05	-.02
Comp. Whites									1	-.04	.14
Inclusion Asians POC										1	-.14
Inclusion Blacks POC											1

Note. † p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.001

Table 5. Study 2 Participant Demographics

	Asian Participants	Black Participants
Gender		
Male	32.6%	32.8%
Female	66.0%	67.2%
Missing	1.4%	0%
Age		
17-22	92%	70.4%
22+	4.5%	27.3%
Missing	3.5%	2.3%
Born in U.S.		
Yes	59.7%	81.7%
No	36.1%	16.8%
Missing	4.2%	1.5%
College		
UMass Amherst	81.9%	61.8%

Other	16.7%	35.9%
Missing	1.4%	2.3%

Table 6. Study 2 Group Attitudes

	Control Condition		General Condition		Superordinate Condition		Ethnic Group Condition	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Asian participants								
Attitudes towards Asians	6.02	.18	5.73	.20	5.71	.19	6.00	.20
Attitudes towards Blacks	4.48	.19	4.52	.21	4.23	.21	4.67	.22
Attitudes towards Whites	4.88	.20	5.08	.23	4.67	.22	5.21	.24
Black participants								
Attitudes towards	4.75	.18	5.06	.21	4.81	.21	4.65	.20

Asians								
Attitudes towards Blacks	5.85	.20	6.18	.23	6.37	.22	5.93	.21
Attitudes towards Whites	4.74	.21	4.86	.25	4.61	.24	4.28	.23

* *Note.* Covariate adjusted means and SDs are reported in this table

Table 7. Study 2 Correlational Analyses for Black Participants – Control Condition

	Attitudes towards Blacks	Attitudes towards Asians	Attitudes towards Whites	Ethnic Group ID	POC ID	Inclusion Asians POC	Inclusion Blacks POC	Comp. Asians	Comp. Whites	Comp. Blacks	Ethnic Disc.	Eth. Disc. Asians	Eth. Disc. Blacks
Attitudes towards Blacks	1	.23	.33*	.75**	.39*	-.32	.41	.11	.15	-.25	.46**	.28†	.53**
Attitudes towards Asians		1	.70**	.14	.04	.25	.12	-.37*	.31†	-.21	-.09	-.25	-.08
Attitudes towards Whites			1	.07	.09	.04	.27	-.24	-.50**	-.24	.-.07	-.32†	-.06
Ethnic Group ID				1	.60**	-.06	.42	.23	.31†	-.25	.41*	.38*	.36*
POC ID					1	.11	.24	.16	-.04	-.06	.33*	.41*	.17
Inclusion Asians POC						1	-.06	.11	-.07	.07	.05	-.03	-.08

Inclusion Blacks POC							1	-.11	.01	-.55**	.43**	.31†	.34*
Comp Asians								1	.61**	.32†	.21	.29†	.15
Comp Whites									1	.16	.22	.42*	.28†
Comp Blacks										1	-.30†	-.18	-.17
Ethnic Discr.											1	.85**	.85**
Discrim Asians												1	.72**
Discrim Blacks													1

Note. † p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01

Table 8. Study 2 Correlational Analyses for Black Participants – General Threat Condition

	Attitudes towards Blacks	Attitudes towards Asians	Attitudes towards Whites	Ethnic Group ID	POC ID	Inclusion Asians POC	Inclusion Blacks POC	Comp. Asians	Comp. Whites	Comp. Blacks	Ethnic Disc.	Eth. Disc. Asians	Eth. Disc. Blacks
Attitudes towards Blacks	1	.66**	.33†	.60**	.53**	.27	.31†	-.04	.08	.02	.17	.28	.29
Attitudes towards Asians		1	.68**	.32†	.28	.37*	.36*	-.41*	-.26	-.16	-.10	.11	.03
Attitudes towards Whites			1	-.05	-.04	-.10	.20	-.60**	-.53**	-.44*	-.27	-.23	-.20
Ethnic Group ID				1	.81**	.27	.01	.25	.28	.20	.30	.34†	.40*
POC ID					1	.39*	.16	-.10	.03	.12	.13	.38*	.26
Inclusion Asians POC						1	.10	-.07	.08	-.08	.29	.53**	.38*
Inclusion Blacks POC							1	-.38*	-.22	-.16	.16	.15	.19

Comp Asians								1	.88**	.40*	.40*	.19	.38*
Comp Whites									1	.27	.48**	.311	.51**
Comp Blacks										1	-.05	.21	.05
Ethnic Discr.											1	.62**	.86**
Discrim Asians												1	.65**
Discrim Blacks													1

Note. † p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01

Table 9. Study 2 Correlational Analyses for Black Participants – Superordinate Threat Condition

	Attitudes towards Blacks	Attitudes towards Asians	Attitudes towards Whites	Ethnic Group ID	POC ID	Inclusion Asians POC	Inclusion Blacks POC	Comp. Asians	Comp. Whites	Comp. Blacks	Ethnic Disc.	Eth. Disc. Asians	Eth. Disc. Blacks
Attitudes towards Blacks	1	-.02	-.05	.79**	.35†	-.31†	.30	.03	-.01	-.09	.12	.17	.22
Attitudes towards Asians		1	.69**	-.24	.08	.48**	.13	-.06	-.43*	.10	-.36*	-.09	-.37*
Attitudes towards Whites			1	-.35†	-.31†	.31†	-.01	-.25	-.38*	-.05	-.25	-.18	-.35†
Ethnic Group ID				1	.56*	-.39*	.26	.16	.25	-.15	.35†	.36*	.43*
POC ID					1	.05	.63**	.31†	.55**	.08	.15	.20	.19
Inclusion Asians POC						1	.17	-.05	-.20	.24	-.20	-.02	-.30
Inclusion Blacks POC							1	-.09	.14	-.19	.13	-.08	.18
Comp Asians								1	.53**	.57**	-.25	.00	-.21
Comp Whites									1	.13	.22	.14	.25

Comp Blacks										1	-.43*	-.12	-.41*
Ethnic Discr.											1	.60**	.89**
Discrim Asians												1	.64**
Discrim Blacks													1

Note. † p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01

Table 10. Study 2 Correlational Analyses for Black Participants – Black Specific Threat Condition

	Attitudes towards Blacks	Attitudes towards Asians	Attitudes towards Whites	Ethnic Group ID	POC ID	Inclusion Asians POC	Inclusion Blacks POC	Comp. Asians	Comp. Whites	Comp. Blacks	Ethnic Disc.	Eth. Disc. Asians	Eth. Disc. Blacks
Attitudes towards Blacks	1	.08	-.23	.74**	.43*	.27	.37*	-.33†	-.05	-.25	.27	.13	.31†
Attitudes towards Asians		1	.46**	-.24	-.28	.43*	.02	-.37†	-.28	.01	-.23	-.03	-.21
Attitudes towards Whites			1	-.56**	-.55*	-.12	-.01	-.13	-.45**	-.05	-.50**	-.38*	-.47**
Ethnic Group ID				1	.54**	.17	.29†	-.23	.12	-.06	.32†	.17	.30†
POC ID					1	.30†	-.08	-.01	.40*	.16	.41*	.31†	.32†
Inclusion Asians POC						1	-.06	-.22	-.03	.30	.10	.18	.04

Inclusion Blacks POC							1	-.11	.17	-.63**	.50**	.15	.43*
Comp Asians								1	.57*	.09	.08	.09	.09
Comp Whites									1	-.13	.51**	.29	.40*
Comp Blacks										1	-.46**	-.15	-.52**
Ethnic Discr.											1	.52**	.88**
Discrim Asians												1	.65**
Discrim Blacks													1

Note. † p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01

Table 11. Study 2 Correlational Analyses for Asian Participants – Control Condition

	Attitudes towards Blacks	Attitudes towards Asians	Attitudes towards Whites	Ethnic Group ID	POC ID	Inclusion Asians POC	Inclusion Blacks POC	Comp. Asians	Comp. Whites	Comp. Blacks	Ethnic Disc.	Eth. Disc. Asians	Eth. Disc. Blacks
Attitudes towards Blacks	1	.2	.33*	.75**	.39*	-.32*	.41*	.11	.15	-.25	.46**	.29†	.53**
Attitudes towards Asians		1	.70	.14	.04	.25	.12	-.37*	-.31†	-.21	-.09	-.25	-.08
Attitudes towards Whites			1	.07	.09	.04	.27	-.24	-.50**	-.24	-.07	.32†	-.06
Ethnic Group ID				1	.60**	-.06	.42**	.23	.31†	-.25	.41*	.37*	.36*
POC ID					1	.11	.24	.16	-.04	-.06	.33*	.41*	.17
Inclusion Asians POC						1	-.06	.11	-.07	.07	.05	-.03	-.08
Inclusion Blacks POC							1	-.11	.01	-.55**	.43**	.30	.34*
Comp Asians								1	.61**	.32†	.21	.30†	.15
Comp Whites									1	.16	.21	.42**	.28†

Comp Blacks										1	-.30	-.18	-.17
Ethnic Discr.											1	.85**	.85**
Discrim Asians												1	.72**
Discrim Blacks													1

Note. † p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01

Table 12. Study 2 Correlational Analyses for Asian Participants – General Threat Condition

	Attitudes towards Blacks	Attitudes towards Asians	Attitudes towards Whites	Ethnic Group ID	POC ID	Inclusion Asians POC	Inclusion Blacks POC	Comp. Asians	Comp. Whites	Comp. Blacks	Ethnic Disc.	Eth. Disc. Asians	Eth. Disc. Blacks
Attitudes towards Blacks	1	.33†	.45**	.14	.48**	.42*	.35*	.04	-.43*	-.10	.11	.23	.08
Attitudes towards Asians		1	.49**	.47**	.06	.01	.28	-.13	-.29	-.17	.21	.25	.28
Attitudes towards Whites			1	.02	.19	.16	.33†	-.14	-.43*	-.29†	.08	.12	.08
Ethnic Group ID				1	.31†	.25	.09	.19	.06†	-.02	-.16	-.01	-.01
POC ID					1	.52**	.03	.22	.06	-.01	.02	.02	.08
Inclusion Asians POC						1	.12	.24	-.14	-.02	-.18	-.08	-.17
Inclusion Blacks POC							1	.06	-.00	-.29†	.34*	.30†	.26
Comp Asians								1	.27	.47**	-.08	.04	-.01

Comp Whites									1	.46**	-.01	.02	.04
Comp Blacks										1	-.33†	-.06	-.29†
Ethnic Discr.											1	.77**	.92**
Discrim Asians												1	.76**
Discrim Blacks													1

Note. † p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01

Table 13. Study 2 Correlational Analyses for Asian Participants – Superordinate Threat Condition

	Attitudes towards Blacks	Attitudes towards Asians	Attitudes towards Whites	Ethnic Group ID	POC ID	Inclusion Asians POC	Inclusion Blacks POC	Comp. Asians	Comp. Whites	Comp. Blacks	Ethnic Disc.	Eth. Disc. Asians	Eth. Disc. Blacks
Attitudes towards Blacks	1	.07	.54**	.14	.33†	.21	.02	-.28	-.13	-.30†	.02	-.07	-.04
Attitudes towards Asians		1	.37*	.37*	-.07	-.14	.41*	-.50**	-.15	-.31†	.44**	.41*	.36*
Attitudes towards Whites			1	-.07	.02	.17	.11	-.39	-.19	-.22	-.11	-.34†	-.12
Ethnic Group ID				1	.38*	.23	.39*	-.12	-.17	-.18	.12	.24	.05
POC ID					1	.50**	.10	.07	.30	.08	.26	.28	.32†
Inclusion Asians POC						1	.00	-.16	-.07	.00	-.04	-.09	.03
Inclusion Blacks POC							1	-.07	.14	-.06	.32	.13	.26
Comp Asians								1	.22	.65**	-.30†	-.18	-.19
Comp Whites									1	.55**	.32†	.15	.22
Comp Blacks										1	-.21	-.28	-.22

Ethnic Discr.											1	.81**	.88**
Discrim Asians												1	.86**
Discrim Blacks													1

Note. † p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01

Table 14. Study 2 Correlational Analyses for Asian Participants – Asian Threat Specific Condition

	Attitudes towards Blacks	Attitudes towards Asians	Attitudes towards Whites	Ethnic Group ID	POC ID	Inclusion Asians POC	Inclusion Blacks POC	Comp. Asians	Comp. Whites	Comp. Blacks	Ethnic Disc.	Eth. Disc. Asians	Eth. Disc. Blacks
Attitudes towards Blacks	1	.47**	.64**	.14	.40*	.12	.06	-.12	-.42*	-.24	-.11	-.08	-.07
Attitudes towards Asians		1	.33†	.53**	.39*	.11	.16	-.07	-.27	.06	.09	.08	.08
Attitudes towards Whites			1	.14	-.06	-.06	.30	-.13	-.40*	-.03	-.15	-.27	-.18
Ethnic Group ID				1	.48**	.25	.40*	.01	-.09	.07	.14	.20	-.04
POC ID					1	.66**	.07	-.05	-.01	-.02	.13	.29†	.12
Inclusion Asians POC						1	-.11	.21	.19	.31†	-.04	.07	-.13
Inclusion Blacks POC							1	-.06	-.11	-.01	.06	.03	-.11
Comp Asians								1	.33†	.65**	.05	.25	.04

Comp Whites									1	.62**	.09	.31†	.13
Comp Blacks										1	-.00	.16	-.00
Ethnic Discr.											1	.88**	.84**
Discrim Asians												1	.74**
Discrim Blacks													1

Note. † p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01

Table 15. Study 2 Correlational Analyses for U.S. Born Asian Participants

	Attitudes towards Blacks	Attitudes towards Asians	Attitudes towards Whites	Ethnic Group ID	POC ID	Inclusion Asians POC	Inclusion Blacks POC	Comp. Asians	Comp. Whites	Comp. Blacks	Ethnic Disc.	Eth. Disc. Asians	Eth. Disc. Blacks
Attitudes towards Blacks	1	.35**	.48**	.13	.45**	.11	-.02	-.02	-.39**	-.13	-.08	-.04	-.06
Attitudes towards Asians		1	.31**	.55**	.16	.08	.33**	-.07	-.20†	-.08	.19†	.16	.16
Attitudes towards Whites			1	-.10	.00	.07	.03	-.17†	-.30**	-.14	-.13	-.22*	-.19†
Ethnic Group ID				1	.34**	.20†	.26*	.05	-.16	-.11	.07	.33**	.09
POC ID					1	.54**	.07	.14	.02	.06	.07	.26*	.18†
Inclusion Asians POC						1	.14	.03	.02	.06	-.02	.16	.04
Inclusion Blacks POC							1	-.08	.10	-.04	.34**	.14	.16
Comp Asians								1	.25*	.60**	.00	.24*	.08

Comp Whites									1	.53**	.19†	.21†	.28**
Comp Blacks										1	-.02	.17	.10
Ethnic Discr.											1	.45**	.59**
Discrim Asians												1	.53**
Discrim Blacks													1

Note. † p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01

Table 16. Study 2 Correlational Analyses for Foreign Born Asian Participants

	Attitudes towards Blacks	Attitudes towards Asians	Attitudes towards Whites	Ethnic Group ID	POC ID	Inclusion Asians POC	Inclusion Blacks POC	Comp. Asians	Comp. Whites	Comp. Blacks	Ethnic Disc.	Eth. Disc. Asians	Eth. Disc. Blacks
Attitudes towards Blacks	1	.15	.34*	.07	.33*	.22	.22	.00	-.08	-.07	.23†	.12	-.17
Attitudes towards Asians		1	.27†	.47**	-.02	.10	.31*	-.31*	.02	-.18	.23†	-.05	.09
Attitudes towards Whites			1	.13	.11	.04	.24†	-.19	-.16	-.15	.00	-.34*	-.24†
Ethnic Group ID				1	.27†	.46**	.31*	.04	.14	.03	.09	-.15	.00
POC ID					1	.44**	.02	.09	.27†	.07	.25†	-.03	.12
Inclusion Asians POC						1	.04	-.00	.04	.12	.01	-.03	-.06
Inclusion Blacks POC							1	.04	-.01	-.10	..08	-.13	.03
Comp Asians								1	-.38**	.54**	-.22	.27†	-.16

Comp Whites									1	.59**	-.05	.04	-.03
Comp Blacks										1	-.32*	.19	-.34*
Ethnic Discr.											1	.34*	.51**
Discrim Asians												1	.39**
Discrim Blacks													1

Note. † p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01

Table 17. Study 2 Correlational Analyses for U.S. Born Black Participants

	Attitudes towards Blacks	Attitudes towards Asians	Attitudes towards Whites	Ethnic Group ID	POC ID	Inclusion Asians POC	Inclusion Blacks POC	Comp. Asians	Comp. Whites	Comp. Blacks	Ethnic Disc.	Eth. Disc. Asians	Eth. Disc. Blacks
Attitudes towards Blacks	1	.21*	.04	.75**	.42**	-.05	.34**	-.06	.07	-.13	.25**	-.01	.34**
Attitudes towards Asians		1	.62**	.-02	.00	.31**	.11	-.31**	-.34**	-.05	-.21*	-.03	-.10
Attitudes towards Whites			1	-.21*	-.19*	.00	.09	-.34**	-.48**	-.23*	-.28**	-.13	-.28**
Ethnic Group ID				1	.63**	-.00	.23*	.14	.24*	-.01	.30**	.05	.38**
POC ID					1	.23*	.22*	.19*	.27**	.14	.23*	.15	.30**
Inclusion Asians POC						1	-.00	.01	-.03	.19*	.03	.13	.07
Inclusion Blacks POC							1	-.13	.07	-.41**	.32**	-.20*	.23*
Comp Asians								1	.65**	.32**	.11	.19*	.13

Comp Whites									1	.13	.34**	.14	.31
Comp Blacks										1	-.31**	.25*	-.15
Ethnic Discr.											1	.05	.69**
Discrim Asians												1	.18†
Discrim Blacks													1

Note. † p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01

Table 18. Study 2 Correlational Analyses for Immigrant Black Participants

	Attitudes towards Blacks	Attitudes towards Asians	Attitudes towards Whites	Ethnic Group ID	POC ID	Inclusion Asians POC	Inclusion Blacks POC	Comp. Asians	Comp. Whites	Comp. Blacks	Ethnic Disc.	Eth. Disc. Asians	Eth. Disc. Blacks
Attitudes towards Blacks	1	.48*	.40†	.44*	.38†	.00	.62**	-.26	-.19	-.26	.41†	.17	.23
Attitudes towards Asians		1	.65**	-.05	-.17	.45*	.26	-.12	-.15	-.11	-.12	.04	-.01
Attitudes towards Whites			1	-.22	-.32	-.04	.30	-.02	-.38†	.08	-.24	-.29	-.15
Ethnic Group ID				1	.62**	-.17	.20	-.02	.34	-.22	.59**	.18	.49*
POC ID					1	-.01	.39†	-.47*	-.03	-.22	.43*	.50*	.21
Inclusion Asians POC						1	-.21	.05	-.02	.02	-.09	.39†	-.08
Inclusion Blacks POC							1	-.36†	-.21	-.08	.38†	.30	.31
Comp Asians								1	.59**	.48*	.08	-.12	.36†

Comp Whites									1	-.04	.34	.11	.37†
Comp Blacks										1	-.24	.13	.19
Ethnic Discr.											1	.20	.68**
Discrim Asians												1	.16
Discrim Blacks													1

Note. † p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01

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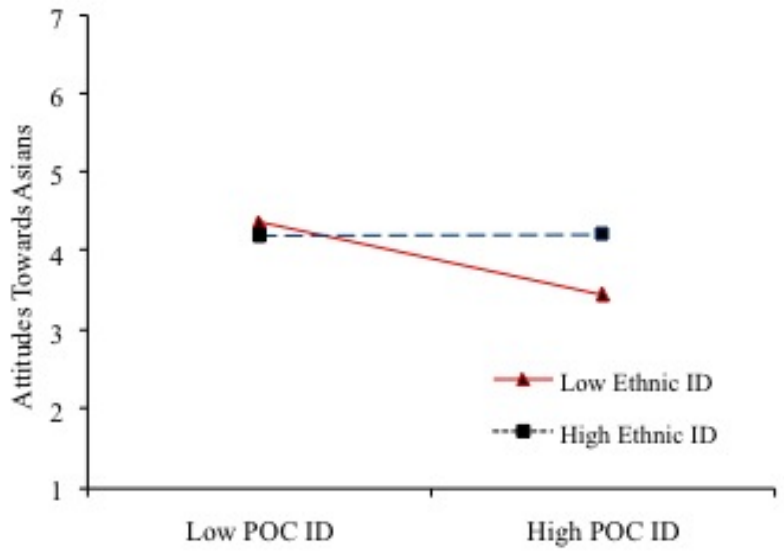
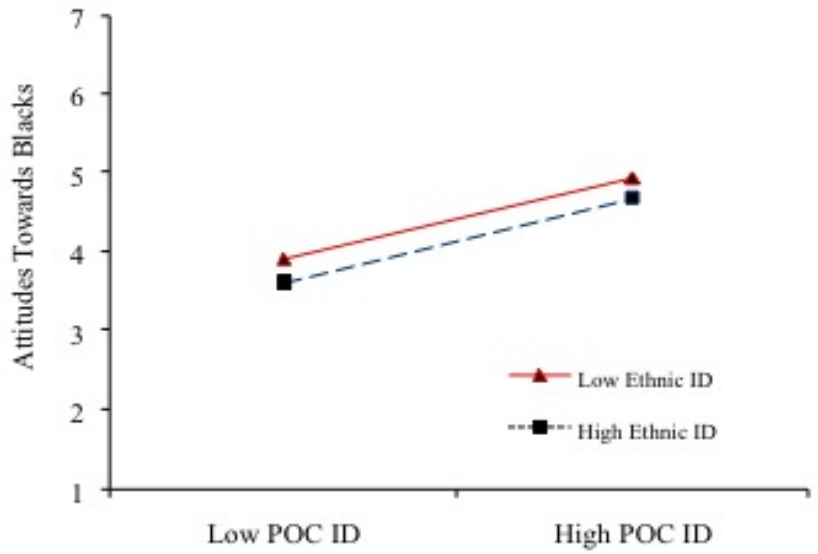
Figure 1. Black participants' attitudes towards Asians as a function of Ethnic Group ID and POC ID



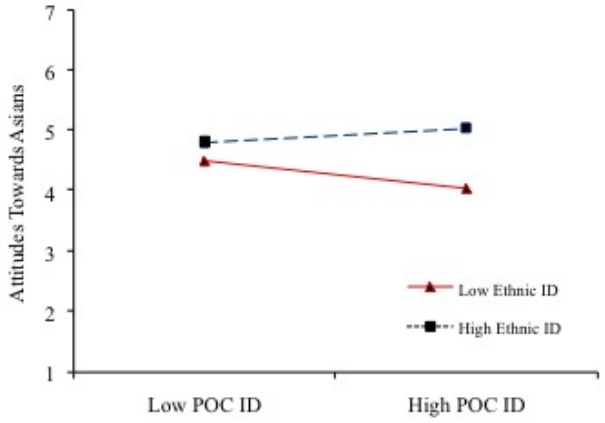
**Note.* b = .01, t = 2.60, p =.01

Figure 2. Asian participants' attitudes towards Blacks as a function of Ethnic Group ID and POC ID



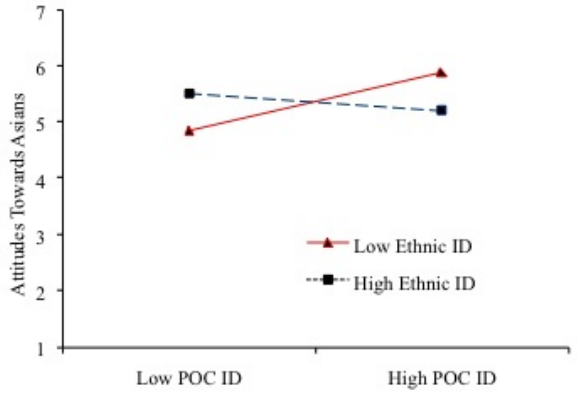
Note. b = .11, t =.13 p = .90

Figure 3. Black participants' attitudes towards Asians as a function of Ethnic Group ID and POC ID – Control Condition



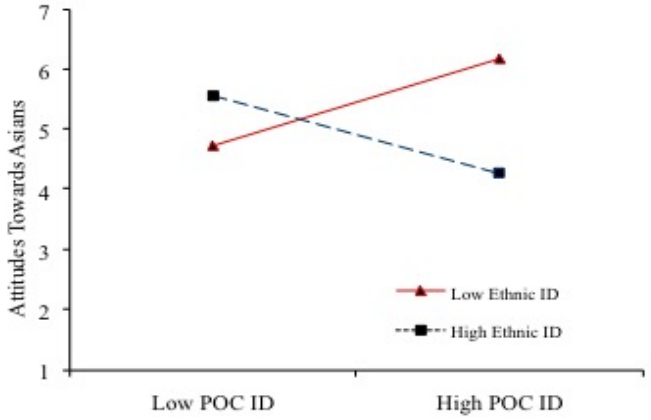
Note. b = .09, t = 1.05, p = .30

Figure 4. Black participants' attitudes towards Asians as a function of Ethnic Group ID and POC ID – General Condition



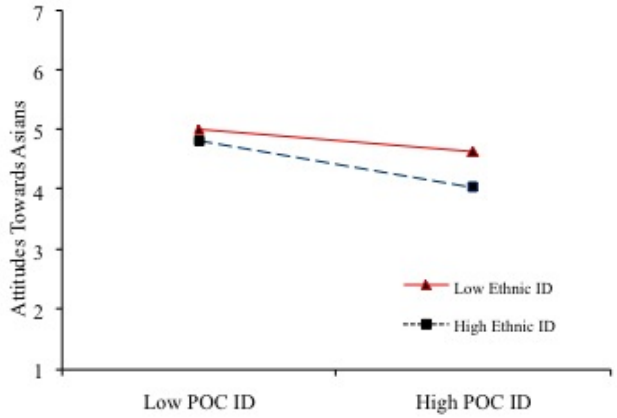
†*Note.* b = -.17, t = 1.70, p = .10

Figure 5. Blacks' attitudes towards Asians as a function of Ethnic Group ID and POC ID – POC Condition



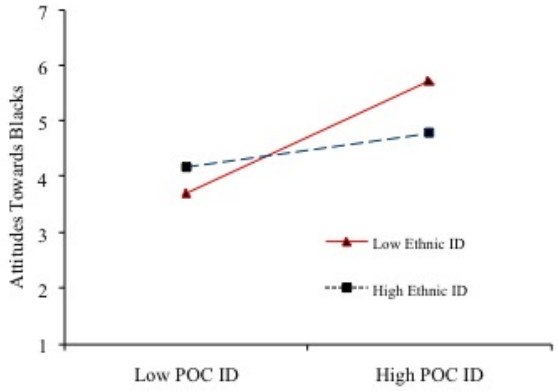
†*Note.* b = -.34, t = .07, p =.07

Figure 6. Blacks' attitudes towards Asians as a function of Ethnic Group ID and POC ID – Black Specific Threat Condition



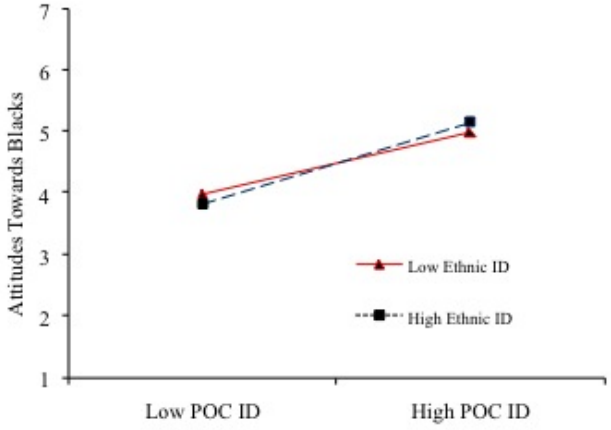
Note. b = -.05, t = .44, p = .67

Figure 7. Asian participants' attitudes towards Blacks as a function of Ethnic Group ID and POC ID – Control Condition



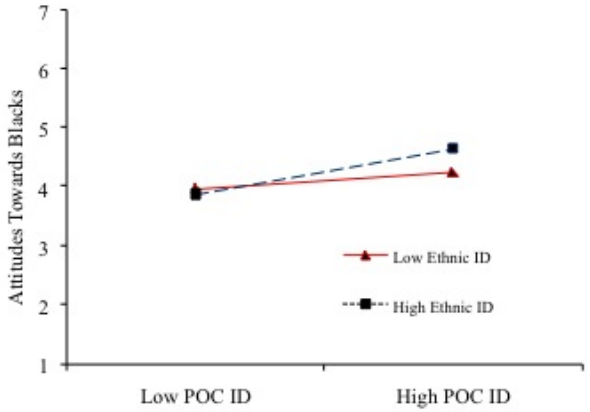
Note. b= -.18, t =1.64, p = .11

Figure 8. Asian participants' attitudes towards Blacks as a function of Ethnic Group ID and POC ID – General Condition



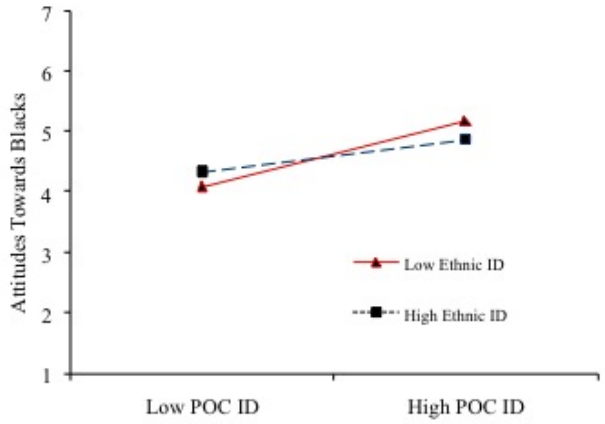
Note. $b = .04$, $t = .53$, $p = .60$

Figure 9. Asian' attitudes towards Blacks as a function of Ethnic Group ID and POC ID – POC Condition



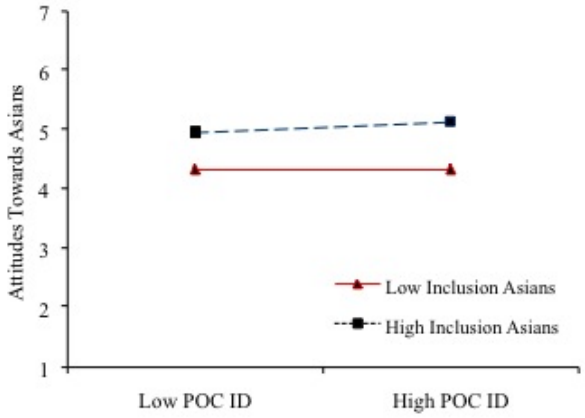
Note. b = .01, t =.04, p = .97

Figure 10. Asians' attitudes towards Blacks as a function of Ethnic Group ID and POC ID – Asian Specific Condition



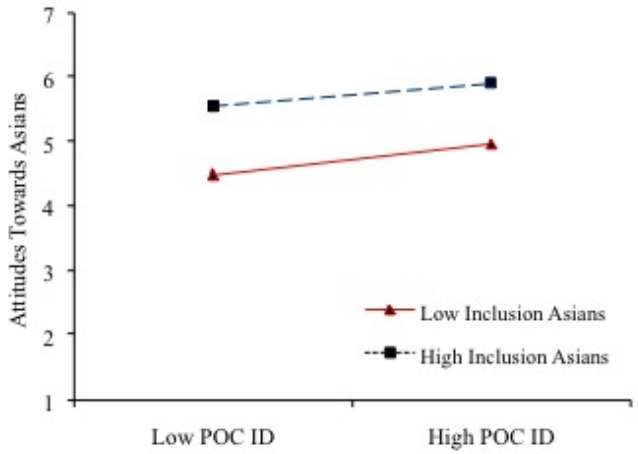
Note. b = -.07, t =.54, p = .59

Figure 11. Black participants' attitudes towards Asians as a function of POC ID and Asian Inclusion – Control Condition



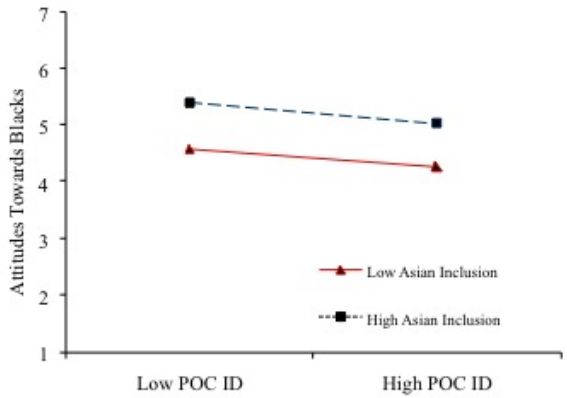
Note. b= .02, t =.22, p = .83

Figure 12. Black participants' attitudes towards Asians as a function of POC ID and Asian Inclusion – General Condition



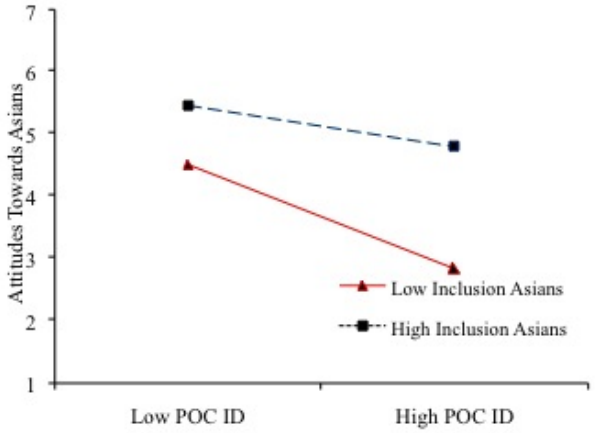
Note. $b = -.01$, $t = .09$, $p = .93$

Figure 13. Black participants' attitudes towards Asians as a function of POC ID and Asian Inclusion – POC Condition



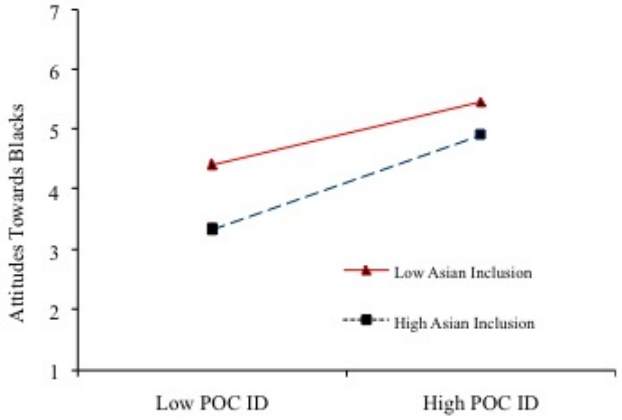
Note. b = -.01, t =.06, p = .95

Figure 14. Black participants' attitudes towards Asians as a function of POC ID & Asian Inclusion–Black Specific Condition



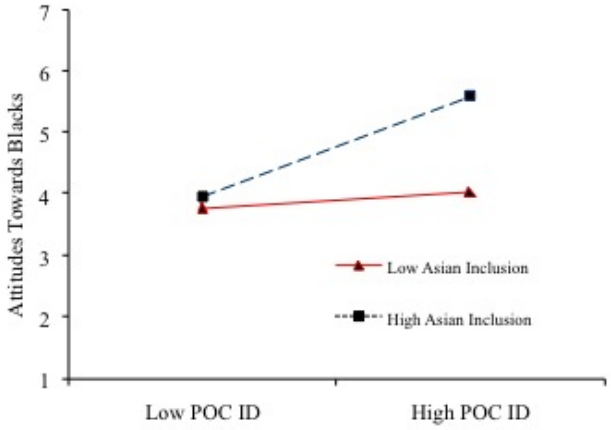
Note. b = .07, t =1.11, p = .27

Figure 15. Asian participants' attitudes towards Blacks as a function of POC ID and Asian Inclusion – Control Condition



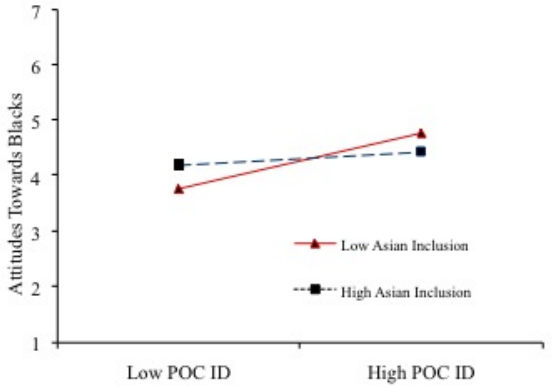
Note. b = .05, t = .52, p =.54

Figure 16. Asian participants' attitudes towards Blacks as a function of POC ID and Asian Inclusion – General Condition



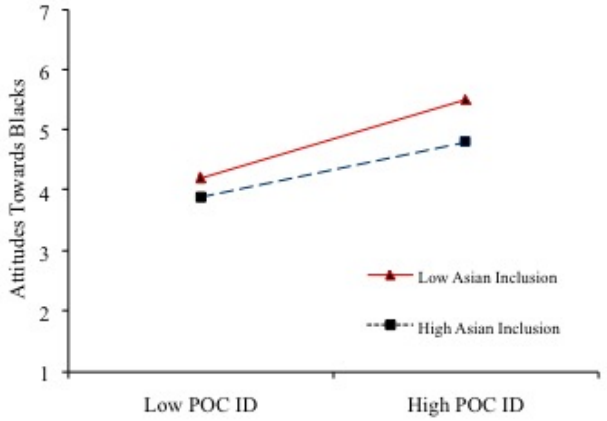
**Note.* $b = .12$, $t = 2.04$, $p = .05$

Figure 17. Asian participants' attitudes towards Blacks as a function of POC ID and Asian Inclusion – POC Condition



Note. b = -.07, t = 1.16, p = .26

Figure 18. Asian participants' attitudes towards Blacks as a function of POC ID & Asian Inclusion–Asian Specific Condition



Note. b = -.03, t = .56, p = .58

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